EDWARD GORDON CRAIG AND THE PERIODICAL AS PERFORMANCE : SOURCES, BACKGROUND AND EDITORIAL STRATEGIES IN *THE MASK*

Olga Taxidou

Ph D
University of Edinburgh

1990

ABSTRACT

Not only edited, but also written almost exclusively by Edward Gordon Craig, and spreading over a period of 21 years (1908-29), *The Mask* appears as one of the first journals to be specifically and passionately devoted to the 'Art of the Theatre' (as the concept is understood in the late nineteenth century in its total and arguably totalitarian dimensions); as such it is worthy of a closely focused study with regard to its author, his strategies and his ideological background. The journal springs from the tradition of the Arts and Crafts movement, which incorporates other similar ventures of periodicals promoting a particular aesthetic stance. Additionally it slowly moves Craigian thought and sensibility into a Modernist context. The thesis argues that, more than Craig's books, *The Mask* provides a plausible interpretation of those aspects of his theorising that are problematic and apparently contradictory. It offers valuable evidence of his ideological/theoretical background which enables a fuller reading of his work as a whole. His Orientalism, his fascination with puppets, with the Commedia dell'Arte and with masks are all explicit in the periodical. Studying these fascinations in *The Mask* provides new insights into his work in general and also on occasion contrasts him with his contemporaries who shared the same 'inspirations'. *The Mask* assumes a 'manifesto' quality - typical of the period - placing Craig within a broad European context and highlighting his uneasy relationship with his English origins. At the same time, it arguably constitutes Craig's principal 'performance', as all the narrative and editorial techniques applied in *The Mask* are quasi-theatrical and the overall project can be viewed as one massive transference and transposition; lacking a permanent stage on which to experiment and present his work, *The Mask* presents Craig with a surrogate *skené (σκηνή)*. Over such a stage his 'Artist of the Theatre' - Craig's title for the director - could have total control. Whether establishing a historical continuity in the work of Craig or exposing his relationships with contemporary schools and fellow artists, *The Mask* enacts much of the tension that runs throughout Craig's work. Boasting a highly performative quality, the periodical combines the Arts and Crafts legacy of the *book beautiful* with a Modernist commitment to innovation and provides a setting against which Craig's work can be read as a whole.

CONTENTS

ILLUSTRATIONS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As always, my parents Katerina Taxidou and George Taxidis have been a driving force and major source of support and comfort. Their idealistic belief that, even in these difficult and fraught times, education can still help 'shape you into a better person and somehow enhance the life of others' has led me through many a moment of doubt. Γιά όλα αυτά και πολλά άλλα σας ευχαριστώ.

My debt to Dr. Roger Savage, my supervisor, is one that extends beyond academic formalities and obligations. His total commit ment and breadth of learning set an example that is difficult to follow. I am grateful for his guidance, his always discreet and sensitive commentary, and his patience with my sometimes stubborn and persistent attitude.

Many are the meetings and encounters with people during my stay at Edinburgh that have influenced the way I perceive both my subject and the role of academia in general. In particular I would like to mention Vassiliki Kolocotroni and Randall Stevenson. Thank you for the hours spent together eating, drinking, jiving, but most of all, talking endlessly till the small hours of the morning. My friends at South Clerk Street provided a home away from home. Eloina Pelaez, John Holloway, Nana Kolocotroni, Nadia Ligdas, Babis Metaxas, Thanassis Loupas, Clare Brennan and Professor Angus Mackay with their wide and varying range of interests helped me avoid the solipsistic nature of post-graduate work, and created an intellectual community that I will always cherish and miss wherever I may be.

Finally I owe gratitude to many wonderful theatrical performances I saw during the years spent in Scotland. Of these, productions like Andrzej Wajda's *Crime and Punishment*, John McGrath's *Border Warfare* and The Mali Theatre's *Brothers and Sisters* helped me to maintain the belief that theatre, despite the overwhelming power of the 'culture industry', is still a place that can trigger the imagination and articulate a voice of critique and resistance.

Part of this work was supported by a scholarship from the Institute for Applied Language Studies at the University of Edinburgh.

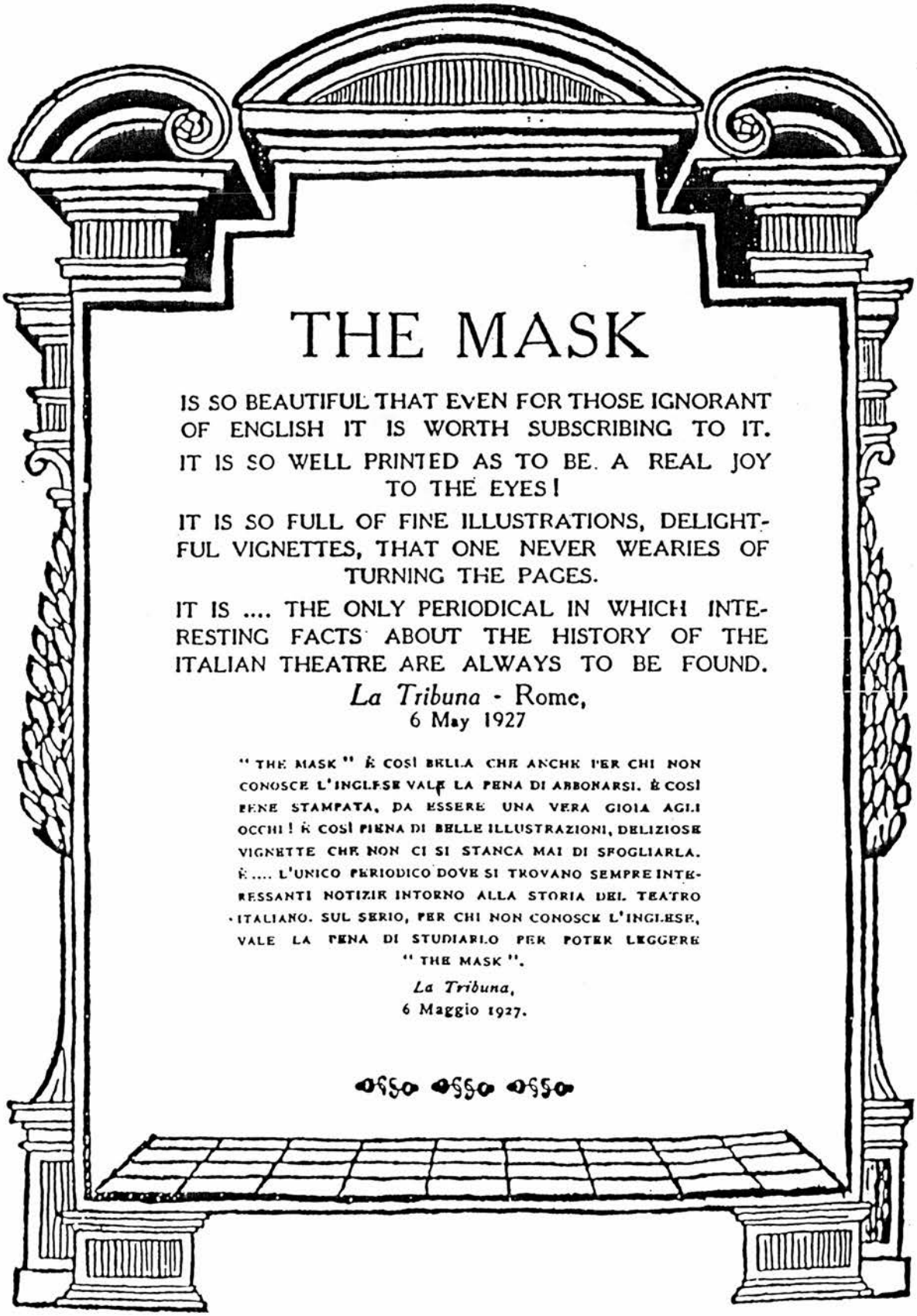
DECLARATION

I declare that, except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is entirely my own work and that no part of it has been submitted for any other degree or qualification.

CHAPTER I

THE MASK: THE PERIODICAL AS A WORK OF ART.

By the time the first issue of *The Mask* appeared (March, 1908) Craig had already made a considerable contribution, through his books and essays, to the debates regarding the 'Art of the Theatre', and had established a reputation for himself on the European theatrical scene. *The Mask* came at a time in Craig's professional life when, having made his initial grand, prophetic and apocalyptic gestures, he was ready for more contemplative, analytical and scholarly research into theatre history and practice. *The Mask* stands parallel to Craig's books as their double; as an extended annotation and commentary on Craigian formulations. As such it reveals many of the contradictions and problems that Craig's particular aesthetics encapsulated. The books in their overwhelming and, arguably, over-written form tend to gloss over many of the theoretical entanglements that eventually led Craig to dead-ends and inactivity. Where Craig's books tend to exhibit a typically Modernist quality in hiding their roots and sources and highlighting their 'newness', *The Mask* recreates that bridge that connects Craigian thought with the aesthecist 1890s and helps place it within the philosophical context of Radical Idealism, as the school was interpreted in its imported form from the continent and mainly from Germany. While it links Craig's work with the past, it also locates it amongst the work of his contemporaries in a manner that highlights similarities and



THE MASK

IS SO BEAUTIFUL THAT EVEN FOR THOSE IGNORANT OF ENGLISH IT IS WORTH SUBSCRIBING TO IT.

IT IS SO WELL PRINTED AS TO BE A REAL JOY TO THE EYES!

IT IS SO FULL OF FINE ILLUSTRATIONS, DELIGHTFUL VIGNETTES, THAT ONE NEVER WEARIES OF TURNING THE PAGES.

IT IS .... THE ONLY PERIODICAL IN WHICH INTERESTING FACTS ABOUT THE HISTORY OF THE ITALIAN THEATRE ARE ALWAYS TO BE FOUND.

La Tribuna - Rome,
6 May 1927

" THE MASK " È COSÌ BELLA CHE ANCHE PER CHI NON CONOSCE L'INGLESE VALE LA PENA DI ABBONARSI. È COSÌ BENE STAMPATA, DA ESSERE UNA VERA GIOIA AGLI OCCHI! È COSÌ PIENA DI BELLE ILLUSTRAZIONI, DELIZIOSE VIGNETTE CHE NON CI SI STANCA MAI DI SFOGLIARLA. È .... L'UNICO PERIODICO DOVE SI TROVANO SEMPRE INTERESSANTI NOTIZIE INTORNO ALLA STORIA DEL TEATRO ITALIANO. SUL SERIO, PER CHI NON CONOSCE L'INGLESE, VALE LA PENA DI STUDIARLO PER POTER LEGGERE " THE MASK ".

La Tribuna,
6 Maggio 1927.

differences, and foregrounds respective ideologies. The physical appearance of the journal is vital in this whole venture. As an object *The Mask* is an example of the aesthetics it propagates. The synaesthetic concerns of the 'Yellow 90s' evolve, through its pages, into the Modernist concepts of 'total art', with theatre as their main platform. The Book Beautiful tradition blends with the continental Art Nouveau school. This in turn borrows elements from the pamphlet/manifesto layout in a unique combination.

The illustrated advertisement/puff for *The Mask* published in its own pages in 1927 and reproduced as plate I, in many ways reveals the nature, the historical background and the aesthetic ideals of the periodical, which had been running for 19 years by then, on and off. Published with the subtitle of 'Journal of the Art of the Theatre' it bears little resemblance to other theatre journals of the period. Indeed, it sharply contrasts with most drama and literary magazines published at the turn of the century. As the advertisement suggests, *The Mask* can be seen as an offspring of the tradition of the Book Beautiful, a notion that sprang out of the aestheticist 1890s. Although *The Mask* was first published in 1908, its physical appearance, its layout and its whole artistic stance compare with the magazines that were conceived some years earlier as part of the Arts and Crafts movement and that later evolved into the main advocates of Art Nouveau. These were mainly fine arts magazines, all very conscious of their image since their basic guiding principle in both their form and their content was one of synaesthesia. For *The Mask* the

unifying force for all the arts is provided by the theatre. There is an emphasis on the 'theatrical' quality of the journal itself and not merely of its contents; and it is chiefly this which makes it different from other theatre and literary periodicals of the period. '*The Mask* is so beautiful that even for those ignorant of English it is worth subscribing to it', says the puff'. Being a periodical which claims to have reached a synthesis of the arts under Craig's idea of the 'Art of the Theatre', it is mainly meant to be *seen* and not *read*. Hence the visual aspect of it is vital. In general the way the periodical appears to the eye is consistent with Craig's overall views on performance. In the context of his trying to establish a theory for his idea of 'the art for the theatre', *The Mask* becomes Craig's 'stage', perhaps the only one he could rely on; from it he not only writes on his theories but also demonstrates them visually. In this sense the periodical functions as a *performance*, and, as we shall see, its whole layout reinforces this effect.

The last quarter of the 19th century Britain's cultural scene was dominated by the Arts and Crafts movement. Arts and crafts were viewed as a common front opposing mass industrial production and historical constraints and realities. The movement encompassed many different trends which had varied historical origins. The Celtic Revival stemming from Scotland and Ireland played a major role, and it was closely connected with Art Nouveau as well, its medieval motifs blending easily with Art Nouveau stylistic tendencies. The emphasis was naturally placed on craftsmanship and artistry,

resulting in a great development of areas such as textile and wallpaper design and production and the illustration and production of books, the latter creating a new awareness of factors such as lettering, typography and layout. One result of the concern for well-crafted books was the notion of a periodical used not only to promote the new aesthetic ideology, but to function as an example of it.

The two main resources that provided a theoretical background for the design and general layout of most Arts and Crafts journals of this period were Owen Jones's *Grammar of Ornament*, first published in 1856 (which by 1910 had appeared in nine editions), and Christopher Dresser's *The Art of Decorative Design* (1862). The basic characteristic of both books is that they draw on architecture to provide a theoretical framework. Jones claims that 'all ornament should be based on geometrical construction' and Dresser concludes that 'the basis of all forms is geometry'. In general, architecture is seen as the structuring force that will achieve the unity of all the arts - synaesthesia and unification of the arts being one of the main concerns of the period. This hailing of the discipline of architecture as the archetypal model for art was reinforced by the fact that many architects themselves seemed to be involved in the whole synaesthetic project. As Watkinson writes:

> It was the architects who played the most important part. Mackmurdo and Horne of *The Century Guild*; Voysey, Ashbee and his *Guild of Handicraft*; Baillie Scott, Mackintosh, Godwin, Norman Shaw Blomfield, Lethaby not only played an important part in making the

most memorable houses and public buildings of the century, but also in the great attempt at the reunification of all the arts.[2]

To the illustration and design of books, architecture introduces new concepts of the organisation and presentation of the page. The book itself is seen as an ideal material both to portray and to represent this synaesthetic approach. In 1888 under the title of *The Combined Arts* a circular was sent out seeking support to promote these ideals and as a result The Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, which was formed in 1883, had its first exhibition in The New Gallery, Regent Street. The event was very successful and was imitated on the continent where the movement had already spread.

The roots of the revival of book illustration can be found in the work of William Blake, who is one of the figures Craig frequently refers to in *The Mask*[3]. Blake's blending of text and illustration into an intergrated whole, his emphasis on lettering and the very fact that he printed his texts himself, having invented a device for simultaneous printing of the text and the illustrations from the same plate, make him a forerunner of the Arts and Crafts concept of the Book Beautiful. Periodicals like *The Evergreen* and *The Yellow Book* display a very strong Blakean influence. It was not only Blake's notions of obliterating the distinction between lettering, ornament and illustration and fusing them into a homogeneous ensemble, but also his very style and aesthetic mode which coincided with the aesthetics of the period.

With William Blake on the one hand providing the historical background and architecture on the other providing a theoretical context, a whole tradition of publication of 'beautiful' periodicals started. These usually rotated round a central figure who was overpowering and in complete control of every aspect of design and production. (William Morris with his Kelmscott press is a characteristic and pioneering example of such a figure). At the same time the periodicals were very concsious of the fact that they were both promoting and representing, through their very physical existence, a particular theory of art and aesthetics. *The Mask* is a continuation of this tradition in its late Art Nouveau phase, proposing theatre as the ultimate art form, and at the same time turning the periodical itself into a kind of 'theatre'.

The Mask's connection through Craig with the new type of periodical at the turn of the century and with the more general ideas on design is two-fold. E.W. Godwin, Craig's father, was one of the main architects actually to give shape to the period's notions of design. He was the architect of Whistler's White House and also decorated the interior of Oscar Wilde's house. He was also interested in theatre and staged Greek plays in open air auditoria. His work on stage design was published in *The Architect* in a series of articles under the general title 'The Architecture and Costume of Shakespeare's Plays'. As early as 1897 Craig collected these articles and later published them as a series in the pages of *The Mask*. Godwin's notions of architectural design were to provide a framework that would help shape *The Mask*. Apart from the

influence of Godwin, which can be traced on many levels both in Craig's theories and in the actual physical appearance of *The Mask*, Craig himself was involved with a number of periodicals published at the turn of the century all of which were in the Periodical-Beautiful tradition, though none was specifically devoted to any aspect of the theatre.

In 1898 Craig published *The Page*, which was primarily devoted to fine arts. *The Page* was very much within the context of the journals of the period : it was more or less a one-manned journal, short-lived (1898-1901) and was full of wood-engravings, sketches and designs, with contributions from some of the same people who wrote or designed for most of the fine art periodicals of the period (Will Rothenstein, Henry Irving, Max Beerbohm, Martin Shaw). Although *The Page* was not a theatre journal, it is interesting to see how Craig's notion of performance creeps in. He writes in his 'diary', *Index to the Story of My Days:*

> Being an actor, though now no longer acting, the need for appearing before the public was still curiously strong in me. Had I been training as a painter, or in any art and craft, I should certainly not have come out prematurely in any publication like *The Page*. But being actor-trained, I could only do my bit on a public stage-a curtain had to rise at a certain hour on a certain date, to rouse me. This curtain rising was the first number of *The Page*. Only a few copies were printed, and fewer were sold. I worked hard at its creation - many woodcuts, slight text. It appeared from 1898 to 1901 - it cost next to nothing - only life.[4]

It is characteristic that Craig never refers to *The Page* in *The Mask*. To pursue the theatrical conceit: as a dress rehearsal, having fulfilled its purpose of providing a preparatory stage, it is later

3 BEAUTIFUL ART PUBLICATIONS 3

THE STUDIO

MONTHLY 2/- NET.

THE MOST FAMOUS AND BEAUTIFUL ART MAGAZINE IN THE WORLD

THE STUDIO LINKS ART WITH LIFE A FACT WHICH EXPLAINS THE POPULARITY IT HAS STEADILY MAINTAINED FOR MORE THAN 30 YEARS.

IT ILLUSTRATES, NOT ONLY PICTURES, BUT ALL THINGS WHICH COMBINE USE WITH BEAUTY—FURNITURE, POTTERY, METALWORK, ETC.

IT IS INTERNATIONAL IN RANGE AND THROUGH A SPECIAL SERVICE OF CORRESPONDENTS KEEPS IN TOUCH WITH ALL THE VITAL MOVEMENTS OF THE WORLD.

ITS PLATES IN COLOUR AND PHOTOGRAVURE ARE OF UNRIVALLED ELOQUENCE.

DRAWING AND DESIGN

MONTHLY, PRICE 1/- NET.

DRAWING & DESIGN IS AN ART MAGAZINE WITH A CHARACTER OF ITS OWN. IT GIVES A FAIR AND LUCID ACCOUNT OF MODERN DEVELOPMENTS IN THE ARTS. IT ILLUSTRATES BOTH OLD AND MODERN WORK. ITS ARTICLES ARE INTERESTING AND OF A HIGH LITERARY STANDARD. IT PUBLISHES EACH MONTH SUPPLEMENTS. WHICH FAITHFULLY REPRODUCE SELECTED DRAWINGS OR ENGRAVINGS.

DECORATIVE ART 1927

IN PREPARATION. CLOTH. 10/6 WRAPPER. 7/6

FOREWORD BY SIR LAWRENCE WEAVER. K.B.E.

3 *ORDER YOUR COPIES* 3

PUBLISHERS; THE STUDIO, LTD.,
44 LEICESTER SQUARE, W. C. 2.

b. The Studio.

c. Beardsley's cover design for the first issue of The Studio, April, 1893.

THE CALENDAR.

A Literary Quarterly.

"The Calendar has no illustrations; but then it is a lively thing; entertaining too (what daring nowadays) and is to my mind quite the best literary magazine issued in England or America". *THE MASK. January 1916.*

".... endeavouring to create a taste, not merely exploiting one already existing". *THE NEW STATESMAN. A fable Novel.*

Price 2/6 per copy. Annual Subscription 10/-

The monthly numbers for December and January last contain complete, the first English translation of "The WOOD DEMON", a 4-act play by TCHEKOV.

Price 1/6 each number from

THE CALENDAR PRESS. LTD.
1 Featherstone Buildings
London W. C. 1.

a. The Calendar.

Advertisements of periodicals in the pages of The Mask.

THE DIAL

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF ART AND LITERATURE.

FOUNDED 1880 BY FRANCIS F. BROWNE.

Editor: Marianne Moore. *Adviser: Scofield Thayer.*

AMONG RECENT CONTRIBUTORS ARE:

W. C. BLUM	PABLO PICASSO
E. E. CUMMINGS	PAUL ROSENFELD
ROGER FRY	BERTRAND RUSSELL
ALYSE GREGORY	GEORGE SAINTSBURY
GASTON LACHAISE	SCOFIELD THAYER
THOMAS MANN	PAUL VALERY
PAUL MORAND	WILLIAM BUTLER YEATS

"..... *often full of very interesting things, and is so well printed, and makes for good all round*". The Mask. July 1915.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION FIVE DOLLARS

(Foreign postage 60 cents additional).

ADDRESS:

125 WEST 13th STREET. NEW YORK.

d. The Dial

forgotten about. In 1908 the pages of *The Mask*, almost literally and no longer metaphorically, provide him with a stage. He edits, illustrates and writes most of it assuming numerous pseudonyms, creating characters for each one, just like an actor. It is in the pages of *The Mask*, possibly more than in any other arena, where Craig's 'Artist of the Theatre' - the director - can take shape and exercise his power unequivocally.

Apart from editing and publishing *The Page*, Craig was involved with many journals that initially functioned as advocates of the Arts and Crafts movement and gradually evolved into the main exponents of Art Nouveau. His collaboration with these journals was mainly in the areas of design, illustration and advertising. The journals included *The Dial(1889-97)*, *The Dome(1897-1900)*, *The Savoy(1896)*, *The Studio(1893)*.[5]. Of these the most long-lived and influential was *The Studio*[6], creating imitators both in Britain and on the continent that were themselves later to influence *The Mask*.

The key figure of *The Studio* was Charles Holme: a cosmopolitan like Craig who had travelled quite a lot before deciding to publish a magazine. Both *The Studio* and *The Mask* had an international character, something which makes them stand out from other periodicals of the time. Craig's initial idea was to publish his journal in German and Dutch as well as English. *The Studio* actually achieved something like this and had a French edition with a resumé of the text translated. Despite its international appeal it was mainly a European periodical, creating in a sense a whole school of

imitators such as *Art und Dekoration* in Germany, and *Ver Sacrum* in Vienna. The international character of *The Studio* helped give shape to it, not only in terms of its contents but also its layout and overall aesthetic image. Appealing to a variety of audiences with different cultural backgrounds, it was mainly a visual magazine rather than a literary one. The visual aspect was promoted not only out of necessity (given the periodical's subject), but also because through it an aesthetic statement was being made on the unity of the arts. The way the idea of the periodical was conceived in 1893 is similar to Craig's initial inspiration for *The Mask*. Bryan Holme writes:

> It was during Charles Holme's trips abroad that the idea of an art magazine crystallised around his recurring observation that the chief barrier between countries was language, and his belief that the more the culture of one part of the world could be brought 'visually' to the attention of another, the greater the chance of international understanding and peace.[7]

With this belief Holme's *Studio* managed to override linguiustic barriers and spread over Europe, forming a network of periodicals within the same aesthetic framework. *The Mask* formed part of this network and in its turn aimed at creating a network of its own, proposing the 'Art of the Theatre' as its structuring unit. As Craig's son Edward Craig writes:

> It seemed to him that *The Mask* was the most urgent part of his programme to develop first; it would take the most time and depended a lot on other craftsmen. With his own magazine, he wouldn't be lost in Italy - he could keep in contact with his friends throughout the world; and by means of it, he would establish a rallying point for all those setting out in the same direction ...away from a derelict art, towards a new form of expression.[8]

The parallel between *The Studio* and *The Mask* - both what they stand for and their overall impact - was noted by critics at the time. Haldane MacFall writes in *The Daily Graphic* in 1908:

> For one among us who is interested in the art of painting a dozen are beckoned to the Theatre; yet, oddly enough, while painting has its several sumptuous magazines, the Theatre has not one worthy of it. From today we are to be rid of the unseemliness, for *The Mask*, from its headquarters in Florence, makes its first appearance here and throughout Europe, to do for the Art of the Theatre what *The Studio* has essayed to do for the arts of painting and of sculpture and of the crafts allied thereto.[3]

Craig's involvement with *The Studio* stretched over 50 years, starting as early as 1898 (though there was a big gap from the early 1900s to the mid 1920s). Consequently the influence of *The Studio* on *The Mask* was not merely an indirect one simply arising from pretty much the same theoretical/sociological background. Craig had published many articles and illustrations in the pages of *The Studio*. It is also significant that in the first issues of *The Studio* Craig appears as a designer of wood plates and wood-cuts and later on as a stage designer and artist of the theatre. In many ways this reflects his gradual attempt to fuse all artistic modes that he had already mastered into an integrated ensemble, under the banner of the 'Art of the Theatre'. In addition *The Studio* is advertised in *The Mask* and it is reviewed favourably in its pages.

Some examples of Craig's work published in *The Studio* illustrate how he moved from the Arts and Crafts tradition to encompass an apparently more Modernist theory of the theatre: In 1898, in a special issue of *The Studio*(No, 8) entitled *Modern Book-Plates and*

Their Designers, Craig's work is shown as 'an artist working in the field'. In 1927, his designs are again printed in an issue (No. 128) devoted to *The Woodcut of Today at Home and Abroad*. In the same year he writes an article (in No. 130) entitled *English Designers of Sceneries and Costumes*, where he concentrates mainly on the work of Godwin. The same issue carries some of his stage designs along with others by Bakst, Derain, Gontcharova, Grant, Popova, Ricketts and Schlemmer. Craig's work also appears in 1931 (no. 149) in an issue under the general title *Modern Book Illustration in Great Britain and America* together with the work of Beardsley and Whistler. In 1951 (no. 238) *The Studio* publishes more of Craig's designs in an issue tracing the history of design in the theatre. Designs by Inigo Jones, Galliari, Derain, Ricketts and Bakst are published in the same issue.

It is interesting to see how *The Studio* groups Craig with Beardsley and Whistler with reference to book illustration. *The Yellow Book* was one of the most influential periodicals of its kind. It grew out of the style-conscious 1890s with the figure of Beardsley as its centre. Although it was short-lived, its impact was great and it gathered some of the most important artistic figures of the time. Will Rothenstein (who contributed to Craig's *The Page*), Beerbohm Tree (whom Craig admired and who later wrote articles on, in *The Mask*) and Whistler (whom Craig often quoted in the pages of *The Mask*) all appear in *The Yellow Book*. It was also the first magazine of the period to 'display' itself consciously and narcissistically through its pages. This effect is

achieved both through the layout and the designs by Beardsley. His fascination with characters from the Commedia dell'Arte and especially with Pierrot give the journal a performance-like quality, with issues being introduced by a Pierrot raising a stage curtain, illustrations of Commedia characters preparing for a performance etc. This effect, though, which is later continued in Beardsley's second periodical *The Savoy*, does not reach the degree of integration which is later to characterise *The Mask*. The distinction between text and illustration is still quite rigid. Craig manages to combine both, fusing them through his Arts and Crafts designer background and his theatrical one.

The other character with whom Craig is grouped in the pages of *The Studio* is Charles Ricketts. Ricketts also published a periodical at the turn of the century, *The Dial* (1889). On the cover he prints wood-cut vignettes in the style of William Blake, who is also quoted at the beginning of the second issue. (Craig also quotes Blake often in *The Mask*: see note 3. As mentioned earlier, Blake is considered to be the predecessor of Art Nouveau book design and illustration, obliterating the barriers between the literary and the visual aspects of text.) Reprinted issues of *The Dial* are advertised in the pages of *The Mask*, which is significant since in general Craig accepted advertisements from other journals only if he respected their work and considered them serious. He did not have to agree with their overall views on theatre, but what always counted as a criterion was the quality of the publication of the journal. On the whole the advertising pages of *The Mask* carried as many

advertisements from fine arts journals as from literary and theatrical ones.

Another magazine with which Craig had worked before starting *The Mask* was *The Dome*(1898-1900)[19]. The first issue starts with an epigram about architecture, very much in the spirit of the age:

Help us, O great Architect,
Sure foundations here to lay,
Though before thy shrine we slay
Not one ox with garlands deck'd.
As we carve for thee a throne,
Guide the chisel o'er the stone,
Guide it, O great Architect.''

Just as God is seen as an architect, architecture itself is viewed to be the highest art form, structuring and ordering all other arts. This concept of architecture providing a paradigm for any form of art runs through *The Mask*, but is slightly altered. To the geometrical conception and organisation of the page most of these periodicals share, *The Mask* adds the purely Art Nouveau mode of fluidity and plasticity, again blending the two modes. Although most of the journals at the turn of the century flirt with Art Nouveau with varying degrees of commitment, the distinctive features (flowing movement, asymmetry, the narcissistic curving line bound together in a closed graphic form) of the movement prevail slightly later on the continent in periodicals like *Ver Sacrum (1898-1903)* and *The Mask* .

Craig was very much involved with the publication of *The Dome* as he designed the poster for it. This is done in a very Art Nouveau style and it is interesting that he undertook an advertisement as seriously as the wood-cuts and other prints he did for the magazine. Of course this is the period when advertisements themselves are gaining artistic status, and Craig shows no reluctance at all to connect his name with them. Later almost all the opening and closing pages of *The Mask* will be full of advertisements, all carefully designed and intergrated aesthetically with the general image of the periodical.

While all these things were going on in Britain, some distance away yet another periodical was being published. This was *Mir Isskustva, (The World Of Art)* (1895-1904), which was published in St. Petersburg by Sergei Diaghilev and his group. Again this was in the tradition of the one-man periodical promoting the unification of the arts. Diaghilev himself was not unaware of the progress made in the field in Great Britain, and indeed there is a letter from him to D.S. McColl asking for an article on Beardsley[12]. Bakst, who later designed for the Russian Ballet, was greatly influenced by Beardsley. Diaghilev himself had considerable experience in book design and production. In 1900 he edited the Imperial Theatres' year book which he turned into a Book Beautiful, making it 'fuller and more splendid than it had ever been before - a landmark in the history of Russian book production'[13]. The innovation that *Mir Isskustva* was to introduce was that, apart from advocating a general theory of aesthetics, it actually gave practical shape to it in the

form of the Russian Ballet. Diaghilev, the central figure of both the periodical and the ballet, uses *Mir Isskustva* as his first 'stage' and then proceeds to channel all his concepts on the unification of the arts into the Russian Ballet. In doing this he creates a whole new notion of dance and performance in general. Craig wanted to achieve the same thing - he wanted a whole new theatre, not just the theory for one, to spring out of the pages of *The Mask*, though he lacked the luck, the backers, the colleagues and the theoretical framework that would allow him to carry this through.

Whether Craig had actually seen copies of *Mir Isskustva* before starting *The Mask* is not quite clear, as he never refers to the periodical in *The Mask*. It is most probable though, as it was quite famous throughout Europe and as *The Mask* itself was sold in Moscow. Certainly Craig became very familiar with the work of Diaghilev and the Russian Ballet and often reviews their performances in the pages of *The Mask*, but always with a slight tone of envy and bitterness (perhaps because Diaghilev had moved from the periodical to form his own company). He writes of The Russian Ballet:

> It is a state organization; its pocket money over a million roubles, that is to say, over one hundred thousand pounds a year. Its founders and supporters are not impelled by a great love of the nobility of art, but they wisely recognise that a great state governed by men instead of by mice and women needs a great ballet, a great Opera House, a great Theatre.[14]

Given this attitude towards Diaghilev it is highly unlikely that Craig would acknowledge *Mir Isskustva*. And even if he had not actually seen the Russian magazine, he most certainly read about it in another journal - *The Imprint*. *The Imprint* was launched in 1913 and Craig had contacts both with the periodical and its editor, J.H. Mason, as there is correspondence between the two journals. Like *The Mask*, it functions as a link between Arts and Crafts journals and those of the new movement on the continent. It does this more consciously than *The Mask*, as it is indeed chiefly concerned with matters of printing, typography and book publication in general. It heralds itself as a true successor of the William Morris tradition and the very first issue boasts a frontispiece from a colour print by William Blake. Being a periodical directly dealing with matters of printing and production, *The Imprint* cites *Mir Isskustva* as a fine example of magazine production. Within the first months of its publication it presents a long article on *Mir Isskustva*, praising its contents and its overall layout. Alex Bakshy writes in *The Imprint*:

> In the domain of pictorial arts the new movement was led by the magazine *Mir Isskustva* which gathered round itself a group of gifted Russian artists. ...It led to an introduction of considerable improvements in commercial printing and gave birth to some artistic publications, which, though not quite supreme as works of the printer's art, yet are marked with much taste and show great care given to their production.[15]

The last sentence of that quotation reflects *The Imprint's* own magisterial attitude, as it basically considers itself the authority on matters of publication and good taste in general. This is an

attitude from which *The Mask* does not escape either. The same article on *Mir Isskustva* ends with an engraving by Craig conspicuously entitled *The Mask of Envy*[16]. Perhaps the editor read *The Mask* and knew of Craig's feelings towards Diaghilev!

A month later the two editors, Craig and Mason, were to meet at Weimar at the invitation of Count Kessler, who was setting up a new press there. The two men discussed their magazines and each wrote up his recollections in the editorial pages of his periodical. Mason writes:

> In Weimar I met Mr. Gordon Craig who is doing woodcuts for the Cranach Press... We got talking about *The Mask* and to my stricture Mr. Craig replied by just inviting me to go to Florence and look after it. As to the type, well all that is necessary is for someone to make them a present of a good type - this is an invitation - and *The Mask* will soon begin to shape itself into a good piece of typography. *The Mask* offers a splendid opportunity with its woodcuts-fascinating reproductions of old and modern drawings of rare interest and no little beauty. But technical knowledge of the manner in which the books were produced is indispensable, if their full possibilities are to be developed.[17]

The Mask responds to this patronizing attitude of *The Imprint* in an article by Craig where he accuses *The Imprint* of being so obsessed with matters of form and style that it neglects the quality of its contents:

> And it finds fault with *The Mask* which it says is the work of 'amateur printers'....In fact *The Imprint* looks first at the polish on the gun and afterwards tests its firing capacity.[18]

The Imprint was first published in 1913, which means it was already too late for it to have any determining influence on *The Mask*. It is

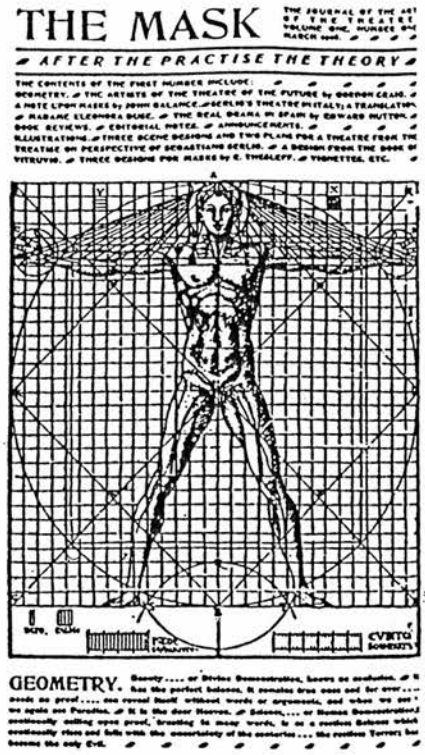
more a case of analogy with *The Mask*, and the comparison serves to bring out their two, very distinct, aesthetic positions. *The Imprint*, being a purist magazine, remains very much within the British school of Art Nouveau, emphasizing strict geometrical design, clear lines, and an overall simplicity. *The Mask* , on the other hand moves on from this tradition and in many ways typifies continental Art Nouveau. Compared with the more strict and geometrical British tradition, its continental counterpart appeared indulgent and narcissistic; this combined with his own sometimes eccentric views on design proved the perfect setting for Craigian notions on theatricality.

Another important factor to bear in mind is that Craig was mostly working on his own and that he had to face great financial difficulties. Though magazines like *The Imprint* may have focused on one person, that person had a team of skilled people supporting him. Publishing the magazine in Florence did not help the situation either, making it difficult for Craig to acquire different kinds of founts. However, Craig managed to use what was locally available without changing his elaborate style. His son Edward writes:

> The format of *The Mask* was governed by the size of the paper, which was hand-made, cheap, and came from near-by Fabriano. The typography was dependent on what founts of type the printers had to hand. The firm of Morandi was able to produce a small quantity of Elzivere, which pleased him immensely.[19]

Despite the difficulites and the limited resources available the appearance of a typical *Mask* page was very impressive indeed.

Whatever limitations were imposed on its production, they didn't affect Craig's overwhelming and excessive sense of design. This is at its most apparent in the first issues of the periodical. Leaving almost no blank space, its pages seem packed with text and illustrations. Following the plant-like imagery of Art Nouveau Craig introduces each new paragraph with the drawing of a leaf. In general the overall appearance of each issue depended, to a certain extent, on its contents. The issues devoted to the study of the Commedia dell'Arte, for example, were covered in designs of Commedia masks, some reproductions and others by Craig himself. The same principle shapes those issues concerned with Oriental theatre. There Craig reproduces illustrations either from other scholarly books or from manuscripts. These aspects do not only determine the contents of the periodical but also affect its physical appearance and, to a certain degree, how it is approached by its readership. The Commedia issues, for example, extend the characteristics of that Italian theatre to the way the page is formatted and consequently read. Paragraphs are abruptly interspersed with drawings, pieces of text are laid out in diagramatic form, in combinations and fusions that help three-dimentionalize its pages. The final volumes of *The Mask* (Nos. 12, 13, 14) are the more conservative and strictly structured ones. These coincide with Craig's 'historicist' phase, as he tries to find past equivalents for much of the Modernist experimentation at the time. In these issues Craig, with the help of his son Edward, prints designs of old theatres, maps of Italian cities and devotes many pages of his journal to historical and encyclopaedic research. These seeming extreme phases of the periodical are bridged by the



THE MASK

AFTER THE PRACTISE THE THEORY

GEOMETRY.

a. First page of The Mask, Vol. 1, 1908.

BARTHOLOMEW FAIR, 1721.

This fair was granted by Henry the 1st, to one Rahere, a witty and pleasant gentleman of his Court, in aid and for the support of an Hospital, Priory, and Church, dedicated to St Bartholomew, which he built in repentance of his former profligacy and folly.

The succeeding Priors claimed, by certain Charters, to have a fair every year, during three days. viz: on the Eve, the day, and on the Morrow of St Bartholomew. At this period the Clothiers of England, and Drapers of London, kept their Booths and Standings there, and a Court of Pipouder was held daily for the Settlement of all Debts and Contracts.

About the year 1721 when the present interesting View of this popular Fair was taken the Drama was considered of some importance and a series of minor... although regular pieces were acted in its various Booths. At Lee and Harpers the Siege of Bethulia is performing, in which is introduced the Tragedy of Holifernes. Persons of Rank were also its occasional visitors, and the figure on the right is supposed to be that of Sir Robert Walpole then Prime Minister: Fawkes the famous conjuror, forms a conspicuous feature, and is the only portrait of him known to exist.

The remaining amusements are not unlike those of our day, except in the articles of Hollands and Gin, with which the lower orders were then accustomed to indulge unfettered by licence and excise.

Published as the Act directs by P. P. Setchel 23 King Street - Covent Garden.

b. Sample of lettering and general layout of The Mask, Vol. 7, 1914.

middle issues, which display yet another ingenious combination of necessity and aesthetic choice. Due to financial difficulties volumes 8 and 9 were reduced to a pamphlet form. This was directly in line with much pamphlet and manifesto printing going on at the time (1915-17). The layout and overall design in these appears to be much clearer and sharper than the previous ones. Still keeping in line with the magazine- beautiful tradition , these issues of *The Mask* share the more geometric, harsher elements of the pamphlet, with the design existing chiefly to promote the 'message' rather than for its own sake.

Whether in its excessively indulgent or in its more encyclopaedic form, the various sections of the periodical are consistent and clearly marked throughout its issues. Framed at the beginning and at the end by advertisements the main core of the journal ends with the sections 'Book Reviews', 'Foreign Notes' and 'Editorial Notes'. These appear in the same place and bear the same stylistic signals.

Even though the *The Mask* was published in Florence its pages were full of advertisements from all over Europe, advertising being an aspect of *The Mask* that Craig worked hard on. The advertisements were always incorporated with the general layout and aesthetic stance of the periodical. *The Mask* would advertise everything, from restaurants to Arts and Crafts exhibitions on in Europe. There was no clear-cut advertising policy as long as the advertisements blended with the periodical as a whole. They always occupied the

first and last few pages, creating a curtain-like effect before and after the main contents-performance of the periodical. Edward Craig writes about the way his father chose what to advertise:

> One day he came upon T. de Marinis in his bookshop in the Via Vecchietti, and they became friends. When Craig found that De Marinis had a large store of the blocks which he had used to illustrate his wonderful catalogues of incunabula and early Italian literature, he struck a bargain with him: free advertising space in *The Mask* in exchange for the use of any of these old blocks for illustrations. They would make excellent "padding", and "Allen Carric"-another Craig *nom de plume*-could always write something about them.[20]

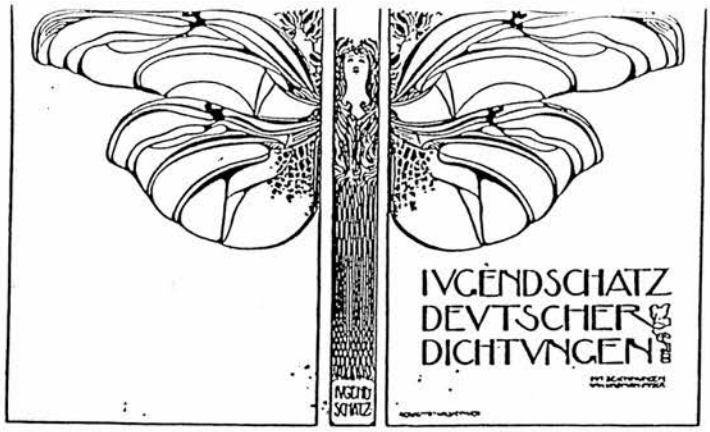
The main subject of the advertising was of course Craig himself. Hiding behind the editorial pseudonym of John Semar, Craig promotes his ideas and his own image notoriously through *The Mask*. There are many instances of him writing letters to himself under different names. This mirroring effect of *The Mask* is something which also makes it differ from traditional periodicals. The modesty and strictness of the Arts and Crafts magazines is almost totally missing from *The Mask*.

The Mask emerges from the British Arts and Crafts and Art Nouveau movements, but its overall layout and general aesthetic stance is a result of the fusion between its traditional British background and the newer continental modes. It was not by sheer chance that Florence was chosen for the headquarters of *The Mask*. British Art Nouveau is a reaction in favour of spareness and simplicity after the excesses that preceded it, whereas Continental Art Nouveau is

based on asymmetry created by the sinuous line, trying to break away from any notion of framework. British Art Nouveau, on the other hand, with its slightly curved surfaces and lines, is mainly concerned with the arrangement of spaces *within* a particular geometric framework. As John Russell Taylor writes 'continental Art Nouveau is a reaction against form itself, while British Art Nouveau is a search for essential form by the stripping-away of inessentials.'[21] Continental Art Nouveau is considered by many critics to be a decadent style because of its ever-increasing self-indulgence, while British Art Nouveau, with its clear lines and flat surfaces is seen to express the more pure and orthodox style. *The Mask* manages to combine both modes, though not always smoothly. Although it acknowledges the past tradition and draws greatly on architectural and geometrical notions of design this is all portrayed in a framework that is highly self-indulgent. *The Mask* is elaborately patterned, fusing text and illustration in an ensemble. This combination is not merely geometrical but flowing, to the extent that words, designs and illustrations alike are blended in total fluidity. There are instances of a text being treated as an illustration and an illustration being portrayed as a text. The pages of *The Mask* are often, if anything, filled to excess. Indeed, Craig was so obsessed with the idea of treating the page like a canvas/stage, that in the pages of the first numbers of *The Mask* there is hardly any blank space.

On the whole, *The Mask* takes its shape more in the mode of the 'decadent' Art Nouveau than in the lines of the smooth British

Sample of illustrations and layout of Ver Sacrum, Vol, 1, 1898.

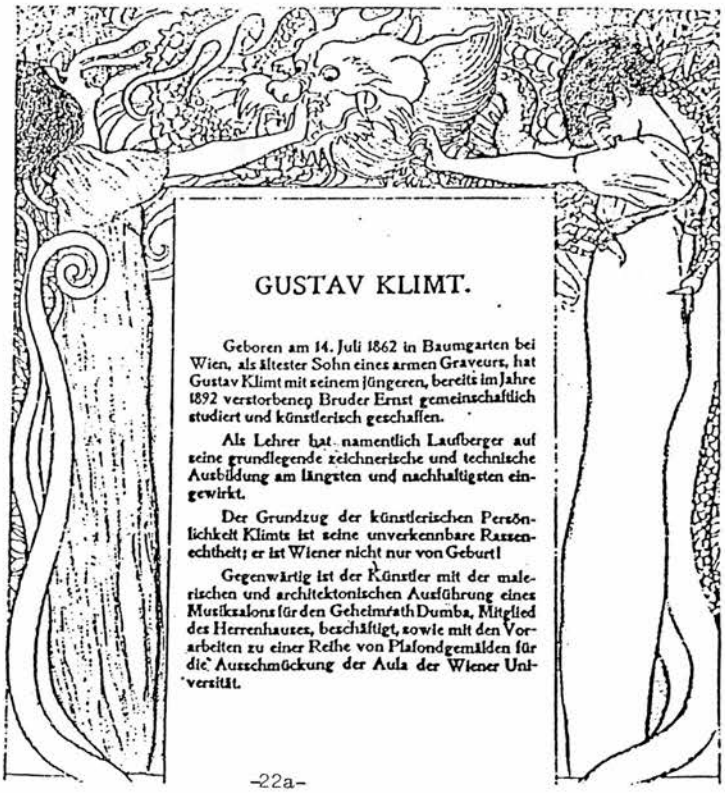


ZEITSCHRIFTEN.

Ungemein reichhaltig ist die Januar-Nummer der Londoner Monatsschrift „THE STUDIO" ausgefallen. Wir heben aus der Fülle des Gebotenen besonders hervor: „GERALD MOIRA" Malereien und Bas-Reliefs (Leitartikel) von Gleeson White, „STEINLEN ALS LITHOGRAPH (von Gabriel Mourey) mit charakteristischen Illustrationen der Arbeiten des Meisters, eine Federzeichnung von FORAIN, eine Facsimile-Zeichnung von FERNAND KHNOPFF und colorierte kunstgewerbliche Vollblätter. Ganz besonders machen wir unsere Leser auf den Artikel „A MODERN ENGLISH COUNTRY HOUSE" von dem Architekten Arnold Mitchell aufmerksam, weil die anschauliche Darstellung in Bild und Schrift eine dankenswerte Anregung für einheimische Kreise des wohlhabenden Mittelstandes in Fragen geschmackvoller und einfacher Hauseinrichtung bietet.

Diese Zeitschrift, welche uns mit der modernen Bewegung im Auslande wie keine andere Publication auf dem Laufenden hält, hat sich nicht nur in England, Amerika und den Colonien eingebürgert, sondern ist auch bei uns in letzter Zeit ein gern gelesenes Organ. Seine fabelhafte Verbreitung beweist nur zu deutlich, auf wie hohem Gesammtniveau der Leserkreis in den angelsächsischen Culturländern

a. Vol. 1, No.1, p.24.



GUSTAV KLIMT.

Geboren am 14. Juli 1862 in Baumgarten bei Wien, als ältester Sohn eines armen Graveurs, hat Gustav Klimt mit seinem jüngeren, bereits im Jahre 1892 verstorbenen Bruder Ernst gemeinschaftlich studiert und künstlerisch geschaffen.

Als Lehrer hat namentlich Laufberger auf seine grundlegende zeichnerische und technische Ausbildung am längsten und nachhaltigsten eingewirkt.

Der Grundzug der künstlerischen Persönlichkeit Klimts ist seine unverkennbare Rassenechtheit; er ist Wiener nicht nur von Geburt!

Gegenwärtig ist der Künstler mit der malerischen und architektonischen Ausführung eines Musiksalons für den Geheimrath Dumba, Mitglied des Herrenhauses, beschäftigt, sowie mit den Vorarbeiten zu einer Reihe von Plafondgemälden für die Ausschmückung der Aula der Wiener Universität.

b. Vol. 1, No.3, p.1.

tradition. The periodical it resembles most in terms of layout and overall aesthetic stance is indeed a continental one: *Ver Sacrum*. *Ver Sacrum* was published in Vienna in 1898 and lent its name to the whole Art Nouveau movement there. From the very first issue it refers to William Blake and praises *The Studio*, acknowledging the British contribution. *Ver Sacrum* was published mainly by Klimt and Hoffmann, both painters/designers and not architects. As a result, in the format of their periodical, the severe geometrical form gives way to the gliding lasso-like line. The blending of text design and illustration into an integrated unity, creating a very strong visual effect, is comparable to that of *The Mask*. It is most probable that Craig had seen copies of *Ver Sacrum* if not in Britain or Florence, then possibly in Weimar when he was visiting Count Kessler. Count Kessler himself was interested in starting a new press, so he was very much aware of all the publications in Europe. Craig is more likely to have seen *Ver Sacrum* as early as 1903, before he started to work on *The Mask*, when he first went to Germany at the invitation of Count Kessler, to work with Otto Brahm of the Lessing Theatre. On his way to Berlin he stopped off at Weimar where he 'met many delightful people, among them Henry Van de Velde, the architect, the painter von Hofmann(sic), and poets and musicians'.[22] Both men were working on periodicals at the time. Van de Velde was working on *Pan* and Hoffmann on *Ver Sacrum*. Much later in his *Index to the Story of My Days* Craig acknowlegdes the influence in his own European project *The Mask*:

It was here in Berlin that I bent myself towards creating *The Mask*, so that through that publication I might in time come to change the

whole theatre - not plays alone, but playing, sceneries, construction of theatres - the whole thing.[23]

To compare *The Mask* with other contemporary literary and dramatic periodicals of the period in English is to highlight their striking differences in contents and overall appearance. Periodicals like *The English Review* and *Poetry and Drama* see theatre as an extension of literature. As a result the journals themselves place all the emphasis on the written word and none on the possible visual impact. Matters of lettering, typography, illustration are of little interest to them as aesthetic qualities and are viewed only in their functional dimensions. On the other hand, the Craigian notion of theatre sees it as the epitome of total art, the absolute synaesthetic experience. Craig's attempt to formulate what he called a 'self-reliant' theatre, free from literature, is reflected in *The Mask*. In this respect it shares common ground with fine arts periodicals of the period, rather than literary ones, since it is the former that strive at the unification of the arts and present their magazines as tangible embodiments of this ideal. The Art Nouveau concepts of ornamentation, exhibitionism and narcissism are parallel to the Craigian idea of stressing the artificiality of the theatrical praxis. In this way Art Nouveau provides the framework, sets the stage, for *The Mask* to present/perform Craig's theatricalities.

The Mask was indeed Craig's permanent performance. He worked on it more systematically and for a longer period (1908 - 1929) than any other project in his life. The very physicality and concreteness

of a periodical provided him with a permanency that a theatrical performance - as it turned out - could not. His attempt to formulate his theory of 'a new theatre', 'the theatre of the future', is not only expressed in the contents of *The Mask*, but is also in a sense enacted through its overall visual effect. Fusing Arts and Crafts notions of periodical design and publication with the more elaborate continental Art Nouveau ones, and filtering through them his notions of theatricality, Craig sets *The Mask* up as a stage, a stage that heralds 'the theatre of the future' and at the same time acts as a paradigm of it.

CHAPTER II

THE MASK AND LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY AESTHETICS: SYNAESTHESIA, PHANTASMAGORIA, THEATREMANIA

This section will be concerned with how *The Mask* is placed within the context of the aesthetic theories prevalent at the turn of the century. This overall framework will be used in interpreting *The Mask* as an artistic object and as a conveyer of a particular aesthetic stance. As an extension of the Arts and Crafts magazine tradition, it results from the blending of English 1890s aestheticism and parallel European movements such as German Idealism and Russian Symbolism. Determined to expose its theoretical origins, *The Mask*, throughout all its issues, pays tribute to figures like Nietzsche, Schopenhauer, Blake, Wagner and Whitman. *The Mask* assimilates and appropriates, for Craig's own purposes, all these influences into a tapestry that not only clearly identifies its sources, but also heralds its role in the later more Modernist context.

2.1. The Nietzschean Cult.

> Nietzsche has had an English sale such as he could hardly have anticipated in his most ecstatic moments, and in company he would not have expressly chosen.[1]

Wyndham Lewis's observation in *Blast* epitomizes the British response to Nietzsche and in general to late nineteenth-century German thought. By 1915, when he wrote, that response had started to fade, mainly due to the First World War, which was seen by many as 'Nietzsche in action'[2]; and Lewis belongs to a younger generation of artist/writers

who, in the light of the war, became quite critical towards the 'Nietzschean cult'. Nevertheless it was a cult that had an overwhelming impact on the British artistic scene of the late nineteenth century.[3]

Nietzsche made his entry into late Victorian society like 'a bull in a china shop', to paraphrase a metaphor used by one of his reviewers at the time. Indeed, every periodical of any importance between 1896 and 1914 (when World War I started) published articles or reviews of Nietzsche. *The Mask* formed part of this trend, presenting the work of Nietzsche in various ways throughout its pages. It is also significant that the first journals and newspapers to pay any attention to Nietzsche were Scottish ones. 'Celtic Twilight' being one of the movements that was gaining in aesthetic awareness, it was open to new ideas. The Scot John Davidson was to publish the first articles on Nietzsche in *The Speaker* (1891) and in *The Glasgow Herald* (1893). Perhaps it is not unconnected with this that *The Glasgow Herald* was one of the first newspapers to praise the work of Craig and to follow favourably the history of *The Mask*.

The Collected Works of Friedrich Nietzsche appeared in 1896 and in the same year *The Savoy* published three articles on Nietzsche by Havelock Ellis, the first major reviews of his works in English. *The Savoy*, very much part of the Arts and Crafts and Art Nouveau movements, found Nietzschean aesthetics comparable to its own. It formed part of the network of periodicals whose very physical appearance exemplified their aesthetic stance; a network which *The*

Mask was later to join with advertisements of *The Savoy* appearing on its pages.

Nietzsche appealed to the intellectual late Victorian who was rebelling against the rigidity of his society, but still remained within the safety of his upper-class elitism. In a lecture given to the Fabian Society in 1896, entitled 'Frederick (sic) Nietzsche: a Child in a China-shop', Hubert Bland portrays an example of a typically English response:

> We must not take our child in the china-shop with too great seriousness, for he is a sturdy urchin whose very naughtiness comes from a superfluity of red corpuscles in the blood. If he does shatter our delicate Dresden sheperdesses... there be so much less left for the housemaid to dust. And when we have swept away the pieces... we may perhaps bring ourselves to realise that our treasures were worthless rubbish after all.[4]

Nietzsche is seen as an *enfant terrible*, a curiosity, whose 'naughtiness' is not harmful as long as it is defused and appropriated within the late Victorian context, a context that reads any notion of subversiveness in Nietzsche as a form of upper-class eccentricity. In a society where ethics and morals were elevated to philosophical world views, Nietzsche's position against morality is easily appropriated by the anti-Victorian intellectual. At the same time, Nietzsche's vehement accusations against democracy and 'modern' politics render him harmless. In the sense that Modernity is seen as a process of democratisation, mass production, industrialisation, and levelling of class barriers Nietzsche is seen as an opponent of it. Edward Garnett writes in *The Outlook* in 1899:

It is because Nietzsche challenges Modernity, *because* he stands and faces the modern democratic rush... because he opposes a creative aristocratic ideal to negate the popular will... that he is of such special significance.[5]

On the other hand however, Nietzsche seemed particularly attractive to the radical strand of British aestheticism as seen in the tradition running from William Morris to Oscar Wilde. His blasphemous attacks on Christianity, his anti-humanism, and his elevation of aesthetics into a philosophy made him a champion of Modernity. It is this double-faced character of Nietzsche's work that made him so attractive to British audiences; an attraction that Craig was to later adhere to as well.

In bridging the gap between late Romanticism and Modernism , the work of Nietzsche and his forerunner Schopenhauer express the concerns, the agonies and the fears of the transitional period. It is a period where philosophy focuses on art and aesthetics not only in order to exemplify, but also to formulate its theories. Nietzsche's view of art being (as Gottfried Benn puts it) the last metaphysical activity in European nihilism is one which helped shift and transform philosophy from a theory of rhetoric and logic to a theory of aesthetics. Nietzsche takes this view to its extreme when he claims that 'only as an aesthetic phenomenon are existence and the world justified'.[6]

This elevation of aesthetics into an all-encompassing ideology blended perfectly with 'advanced' thinking in the style-conscious 1890s in Britain. Indeed, as early as 1891 the work of Nietzsche was being reviewed in some sophisticated journals closely involved with

new trends in the arts, such as *The Speaker* and *The Savoy*. At the same time, figures such as Walter Pater and Arthur Symons were formulating notions parallel to those of the German thinkers. The Arts and Crafts movement, Herkomer with his synaesthetic experiments and later Craig himself were to develop these theories, following a movement that is parallel to similar ones on the continent. If we read the 'yellow nineties' notions of the 'will to style' as an articulation of Nietzsche's 'will to power', Nietzsche himself can be seen as a figure of the 'yellow nineties'. Both his works and his image as a prophet/philosopher fit the dominant credo of the period, a credo to which Craig subscribed.

The influence of late nineteenth-century theories of aesthetics on the work of Edward Gordon Craig is twofold. On the one hand, he is very much part of the aesthetic consciousness of his age; artistically bred within the Arts and Cratfs movement and matured towards the early stages of Modernism, he automatically exposes and exemplifies the concerns of his period. On the other hand, he refers to and quotes Nietzsche[7] and Schopenhauer[8] when formulating his own theories. This is true of his books[9], but even more obvious in *The Mask*, as he uses it as a forum, a theatrical *agon*, exhibiting and contrasting the most important movements of his time.

The nature of Craig's art provides a vital link to the aestheticism of the period. Nietzsche's insistence on all art as essentially *tragic* - a ritualistic theatrical enactment - is the most extreme example of theatre-cum-religion-cum-philosophy. He writes:

The Dionysiac is the basic ground of the world and the foundation of all existence. In the final analysis, it must be thought of as the eternal and original power that calls into being the entire world of phenomena.'[10]

Theatre is considered to be the ultimate art form. The emphasis placed on music or architecture in an attempt to map a structuring force for all art, gradually focuses on theatre as the locus of the synaesthetic ideal. Wagner's notion of the *Gesamtkuntswerk*, developed almost parallel to Nietzsche's work, is a more romantic version of the coming Modernist ideal of the total theatre. Craig's 'Theatre of the Future' provides the transition stage between the two, fusing modes of both periods. At the same time, Craig's main concern was to formulate a theory of the theatre, extensively a theory of aesthetics, one that can now properly be read within the framework of late nineteenth-century philosophy.

A principal concern of the philosophy of the time was to define the 'nature of art' and its relationship, if any, to the world. As Warren E. Steinkraus puts it, art was seen 'as a means to bring back the awe of truth to a philosophy which has become too conscious of itself.'[11] Philosophy is gradually replaced by aesthetics and the work of art itself, moving from a sensuous category it used to fulfil, now occupies a cognitive one, not only explaining the world, but also creating it. Consequently, the notion of art as mimesis is radically questioned. Nature and art are no longer seen in opposition and their boundaries begin to blur. The world itself is seen as a *phenomenon*, sharing the same qualities as a work of art. Craig writes in an article entitled 'In Defence of the Artist':

The artist is comprehensible only because his thoughts and actions are natural... At the same time it is because he is part of Nature that he never *imitates Nature*. Why should he?
Whatever he creates will be natural: he of all men has no need to copy.[12]

The fusion of art and life, rendering 'aesthetic life' as the only real life, is a Nietzschean notion filtered to the British scene through the work of Walter Pater and Arthur Symons. Nietzsche writes in *The Gay Science*:

We should learn from the artists while being wiser than they are in other matters. For with them this subtle power of arranging, of making things beautiful, usually comes to an end where art ends and life begins; but we want to be the poets of our life - first of all in the smallest, most everyday matters.[13]

This perception of the world as a phenomenon in a theoretical framework where the oppositions real/unreal, art/nature no longer exist - a world more or less 'created' by the 'artistic genius' is also stressed by Pater in *The Renaissance*, a work that was to influence Craig (among many others) and from which he often quotes in *The Mask*:

The basis of all artistic genius lies in the power of conceiving humanity in a new and striking way, of putting a happy world of its own creation in place of a meaner world of our common days, generating around itself an atmosphere with a novel power of refraction, selecting, transforming, recombing the images it transmits, according to the choice of the imaginative intellect.[14]

Art no longer imitates life, or merely highlights experience; it composes it anew. It not only justifies life; it also redeems it, placing it in a locus beyond the reaches of time and space. The only way to experience such artistic works (one of which in this context is the world itself) is through ecstasy. The ideal of 'ecstasy'

(etymologically meaning 'displacement') becomes the topmost goal, locating the artist beyond historical limitations and constraints. Summing up an article in *The Mask*, Craig quotes Nietzsche, exhibiting the same perspective:

> To the existence of art, to the existence of any aesthetic activity or perception whatsoever, a preliminary psychological condition is indispensable, namely *ecstasy*.[15]

Pater, whose work is also chronologically parallel to Nietzsche's, expresses the same idea when he writes: 'to burn with this hard, gemlike flame, to maintain this ecstasy, is success in life'.[16] Success in art equals success in life, in an analogy that identifies one with the other.

In this context the definition of the artist's role changes drastically as well. It is in William Blake that the 90s image of the artist as prophet and philosopher often focuses. Blake's fusion of artistic modes and his apocalyptic writing herald Nietzsche and help create the notion of the 'artistic genius'. The English aestheticists of the nineties, and later Craig, reached Nietzsche through William Blake. Arthur Symons in his *William Blake* traces the similarities between the two writers in a comparison that is almost to become 'stock' during this period. He says of Blake:

> His thoughts are the passionate history of his soul. It is for this reason that he is an artist among philosophers rather than a pure philosopher. And remember that he is also not in the absolute sense, the poet, but the artist.[17]

Symons points out two aspects of Blake's work that help constitute the 'artistic genius': the blending of the categories 'artist' and 'philosopher' and the blending of artistic media.

It is with Nietzsche and Schopenhauer, however, that the role of the artist is formally described. Schopenhauer draws the distinction between 'the knowing individual' and 'the pure, will-less, painless, timeless subject of knowledge' that derives from aesthetic perception. The artist can transcend the limitations of ordinary thought following an intuitive process that has nothing to do with personality or acquired skill. Schopenhauer says that he may '*lose himself*, his individuality, his will, and only continue to exist as pure subject, as clear mirror of the object'.[18] This statement strongly pre-echoes Nietzsche's 'ecstasy'. The opposition of art to the world, tentative as it may be, still exists as the world continues to remain the object of art. The 'artistic genius' in the work of Schopenhauer is seen as the main resistance against the overpowering 'will'. In the work of Nietzsche the 'artistic genius' is no longer seen in battle with the 'will', but as constituting the highest form of it. The artist himself (for it is invariably a 'he') is elevated from a man endowed with special qualities to an *Ubermensch*; from a gifted/chosen one he becomes a master of ceremonies, blending the real with the fantastic, not only providing intuitive insights into the world, but also partaking in its creation. Nietzsche writes:

> With this system of thinking 'Dionysus' becomes an ideogram for sublimated will to power, and the 'Dionysian' man is a synonym for *Ubermensch*, the man in whom will to power has been sublimated into mastery and self-creativity.[19]

It is this very image of the artist that Craig envisages for himself, as a child of his age and as a theatre director. The art of the theatre, in fulfilling the ideal of synaesthesia and totality, becomes the ultimate art form; its master, the director, embodies the 'artistic genius'. (Of course the rise of the director owes much to broader social and political changes of the period as well, as will be investigated later). This stance of Craig's is most obvious in his famous dialogues, most of which were first published in *The Mask.* In these he explains the art of the theatre to an unassuming and very often naive student, turning them into lessons in humility: Craig appears as the all-knowing master (in part a Pateresque Socrates-figure but also a Zarathustra one), initiating the student into the mysteries of his art. Most dialogues end with quotations from Nietzsche or Schopenhauer. One, with the characteristic title 'On Learning Magic', ends with a passage from *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*:

> Ah! Ever are there but few of those whose heart hath persistent courage and exuberance; and for such remaineth also the spirit patient. The rest however are *cowardly*... Him who is of my type, will also the experiences of my type meet on the way: so that his first companions must be corpses and buffoons. His second companions, however... they will call themselves his *believers*... will be a living host, with much love, much folly, much unbearded veneration.[20]

The artist is seen as a high priest who has to preach his art to faithful followers. The director embodies this notion of the all-powerful 'artistic genius'; and it is a concept that prevails in other aspects of Craig's work as well; his theories of acting and the *Ubermarionette* in many ways derive from the same source.

The 'artistic genius' figure is also parallel with the image of the 'aesthetic man' of the 'yellow nineties' in Britain. This (as we have seen) was a period of Arts and Crafts periodicals - often the work of one man alone - preaching the new artistic values and rallying against Modernity and mass production. All over Britain small groups were formed that centred round enthusiastic and powerful figures, promoting a particular aesthetic stance. (One of the first articles on Nietzsche to be published in Britain was in such a periodical, *The Savoy*[21], and one whose editor Arthur Symons was to be an important contributor to *The Mask*). As early as 1898 Craig published *The Page*, an Arts and Crafts journal very much in line with the style and general concerns of the time. Craig as an 'aesthetic man', like others of his generation, proposes an artistic solution through craftwork, artistry and fine art, to the rising problems brought about by mechanisation and mass production. Later with *The Mask* a performative quality is added to his image. The modern world is seen as being vulgar and debased; the artist is called upon to redeem it.

2.2 Wagner, Symons and Phantasmagoria

Once the artist is placed beyond any notion of history or external reality, the work of art loses its mimetic function. It becomes a reality *sui generis* that is no longer obliged to identify its sources or its goals. The more perfect the illusion created by the work of art, the more 'real' it claims to be. Theatre, in constituting the ultimate art form that creates this semblance of a 'self-contained' world, acquires a prominent position among the arts in this

scheme of things. The art of the theatre is seen as exemplifying the notion of the Total Art Work. The Total Art Work is art conceived as a phenomenon; one that can create reality anew and encompass every aspect of it. This totalizing function of this definition of theatre practice has direct political implications: on the one hand it can lead to theatre as propaganda, theatre as a form of revolution (as in the work of the Russian Constructivists), and on the other, it creates a theatre that is a huge spectacle, a *phantasmagoria* with fascist undertones as in the work of the Italian Futurists. Craig would later align himself with fascism and his work exhibits elements of this phantasmagoric style.

Wagner's notion of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* is one of the first attempts consciously to use the theatre to bring forth this ideal. Craig shows his admiration for Wagner throughout *The Mask* by quoting him and reviewing books about him.[22] More significant is the fact that the first works Craig chose to direct were operas (Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas* and the semi-operatic *Masque of Love*) and he was helped in these productions by his friend Martin Shaw, the composer. He later said of the whole project 'without Martin Shaw I should never have thought to do this or done so'.[23] Like the work of Wagner, Craig's designs and overall scenic vision still possess a highly Romantic quality. Christopher Innes writes:

> Craig's first reaction once *Dido and Aeneas* was suggested had been to visualize not the scenery, but patterns of movement and grouping to bring out the mood of the music.[24]

Later his work was to become abstract and stylized with music not only 'setting the mood', but acting as a paradigm for artistic creation in general. The significance of music as a structuring force is something that Craig inherits from opera and mainly through Wagner.

The aesthetic theories of Walter Pater and his pupil Arthur Symons are strikingly parallel to the work of Wagner. Music for them is the essential art form. Pater's famous statement 'all art constantly aspires to the condition of music' is regularly quoted in *The Mask*, acquiring an axiomatic quality which helps Craig formulate his own theories.[25] In renouncing its relationship with the world, art seeks a medium that will substitute content for pure expressiveness, identifying its content in its form. Music provides the ideal paradigm, as it claims to be the most self-reliant and non-representational of all arts. Continuing his statement, Pater writes:

> That the mere matter of a poem, for instance, its subject, namely, its given incidents or situations - that the mere matter of a picture, the actual circumstances of an event, the actual topography of a landscape - should be nothing without the form, the spirit of the handling, that this form, this mode of handling, should become an end in itself, should penetrate every part of the matter; this is what all art constantly strives after.[26]

This concept of Pater's echoes a similar one expressed by Nietzsche in *The Birth of Tragedy*:

> The only possible relation between poetry and music... the word, the picture, the concept... seeks an expression analogous to music.[27]

For both men music provides a superior alternative to language. Music is seen as a pure medium beyond signification and representation. As

Schopenhauer writes, 'music never expresses the phenomenon but only the inner essence of the phenomenon'.[28]

The ideal of self-reliance and autonomy is one which Craig uses both in trying to redefine the nature of his medium, the theatre, and in determining its content in terms of acting, stage design and directing. Just as music uses its own medium to express, Craig suggests that the art of the theatre initially tries to understand and master its medium. He writes in *The Mask*:

> Think how far the condition of music in art will go if it is led by psychology... It is far better for all the arts, until they arrive at that condition to travel along and to concern themselves with nothing but the way their mere bodies are constructed. Let them get hold of THAT first. There is plenty of time afterwards for the study of the soul.[29]

If we read 'content' for Craig's use of the word 'soul', again we see the notion that art should be primarily concerned with form. Form is important because it is what chiefly defines the borders of the 'world of art' and separates it from the other 'real' world. In the theatre, defining the medium involves setting the literary and performative aspects of a play in opposition. This was one of Craig's main concerns. In his search for the ideal of self-reliance, his 'Theatre of the Future' has to be free from the tyranny of a literary text. It has to create a language of its own, indigenous to its own medium. In Craig's work this process of defining the medium is parallel to his attempt at mapping out his role as director. He writes in *The Art of the Theatre* of the stage-director:

> When he interprets the plays of a dramatist by means of his actors, his scene-painters, and his other craftsmen, then he is a craftman.

When he will have mastered the uses of actions, words, light, colour and rhythm, then he may become an artist. Then he shall no longer need the assiatance of the playwright, for our art will then be self-reliant.[30]

Form in the theatre is chiefly determined by its physical aspect, the stage. The concept and the function of the stage is constantly redefined during this period. The use of electricity on the stage provides fruitful ground for further experimentation. In an attempt to perfect the illusion of the scenic world and to establish complete autonomy, a sophisticated 'technology of the stage' develops. The works of Wagner can be seen as the first example of experimentation in this area. Adorno describes Wagner's works as 'among the earliest "wonders of technology" to gain admittance to great art'.[31] It is in the phantasmagoric style, traces of which appear in Craig's work, that we see a total fascination with the technology of the stage. Even though the classical Greek theatre and later forms such as sixteenth and seventeenth century intermedio and opera exhibit a very sophisticated use of stage technology/machinery, with Wagner we have the type of hypostasizing of technology that later leads to the adoration and fascination of the Futurists.

Craig and his contemporary Appia were to continue the experimentation in defining theatrical space. Craig re-introduces the idea of the open-space to the stage, changing it from a quasi-photographic representation of somewhere else to a setting in its own right, a *skene (σκηνή)*. This notion of the *skene* derives from the Classical and Medieval theatres where the space in which a play was performed - amphitheatre or church - itself provided the setting,

though elements of more conventional 'scenery' were used in both. It is a complete architectural and functional view of scenic space, creating an area that belongs only to the theatre. In representing nowhere else other than the place where it stands, the *skene* arbitrarily naturalizes theatrical space and helps create the illusion of a self-contained, non-representational scenic world.

Craig's architectural perception of scenic space was influenced by his father Godwin. Godwin, an architect himself, was very much a figure of the aestheticist 1890s. He designed furniture, houses (one of Oscar Wilde's included), theatrical costumes and scenery, and produced plays. Craig re-published his designs for Shakespeare plays in *The Mask*. Although they were by no means similar to Craig's designs, being much more traditional, they nevertheless influenced Craig's architectural perception of scenic space. Later, in 1923, when Craig published *Scene*, his own ideas on theatrical space were fully formulated through the use of his screens. Together with more Modernist modes of drama he continued his experimentation towards creating a 'technology of the stage'. He talks of 'scientific movement' and ultimately wants his screens to be mechanically controlled by the director off stage. This 'new technology' of the theatre seems to expand to cover other aspects of theatrical art such as acting and lighting. In many ways, it stems from his mania to re-create theatrical art totally. The actor becomes part of the 'new technology', a pure medium with no past or psychology, that can be fully controlled by the director. The director himself, in embodying the ideal of the 'artistic genius', has every right to do so.

The creation of a new technology for the theatre has its roots in the Arts and Crafts movement. Initially against mechanization, it stressed the importance of production as part of the creative process. In doing so, it inevitably led to developments in the means of production of a work of art. In relation to the theatre it meant recreating the stage altogether. Later with the Futurist movement the production process *is* the work of art. Craig uses music, dance and stylized acting to replace representation and mimesis on stage. These are for him the main 'mechanisms' of his new technology. His *Ubermarionette* can be seen as a theatrical version of Nietzsche's *Ubermensch* in an age of electricity. In this way Craig combines his Romantic past with the Modernist notions of performance that were to follow.

A Romanticized version of stage technology is what Arthur Symons was writing about in *Plays, Acting and Music*. Craig reviews it favourably in *The Mask* and often quotes from it. A quotation, which Craig also uses, shows how Symons incorporates the use of marionettes within his 'stage technology':

> The marionette may be relied upon. He will respond to an indication without reserve or revolt; an error on his part (we are all human) will certainly be the fault of the author; he can be trained to perfection... Above all, for we need it above all, let the marionettes remind us that the art of the theatre should be beautiful first, and what you will afterwards. Gesture on the stage is the equivalent of rhythm in verse, and it can convey, as a perfect rhythm should, not a little of the inner meaning of words, a meaning perhaps more latent in things.[32]

Craig continues this passage in *The Mask*, showing how he combines the notion of technology as art with the Arts and Crafts aversion to it:

> The Marionette through his two virtues of obedience and silence leaves to his sons a vast inheritance. He leaves to them the promise of a new art. What the wires of the Ubermarionette shall be, what shall guide him, who can say? I do not believe in the mechanical... nor in the material... The wires which stretch from Divinity to the soul of the Poet are wires which might command him;... has God no more such threads to spare... for one more figure? I cannot doubt it.[33]

In order to overcome his disgust with anything mechanical Craig dresses his *Ubermarionette* with a Romantic mask. The wires that run through him cannot possibly be made of steel, for then the person who is in control will be seen as a technician and that is far too vulgar an image for the director. Instead, they are made of a divine substance that communicates directly with the Poet, who is compared to no one less than God. The actual technology creating movement is ignored altogether. It is too crude an activity to occupy a real artist. This exemplifies a contradiction that runs throughout Craig's work. On the one hand he is faithful to the Romantic aesthetic, and on the other he formalizes theories that acquire a very different framework in order to be realized. At the same time, this is one of the most intriguing aspects of his work. The Futurist movement managed to resolve this contradiction by creating a new aesthetics that identified technology with art. It is characteristic that the Futurists actually produced 'robot plays', as they shamelessly called them, whereas Craig never 'gave life' to his *Ubermarionette*.

Another concept that Symons and Craig share is the absolute obliteration of anything 'natural' on stage. If the world on the stage is to be self-contained, it has to produce its own 'nature'. The *Ubermarionette* is part of that nature. In this context the only thing

that can have claim to beauty is pure artifice. Artifice becomes nature for the scenic world. The real world is not a creation of the 'artistic genius'; therefore it can only be debased and of no interest. Art no longer refines or elevates the world. It ignores it completely and seeks beauty and perfection only within the boundaries of its own cosmos. The only conceivable *telos (τέλος)* for art becomes *newness*. This accounts for the craze in the arts of the period for constant self-reflexiveness and redefinition. The ideal of the *New* is elevated to an ideology. As Benjamin writes:

> Art that begins to doubt its task and ceases to be 'inseparable de l'utilite' (Baudelaire) must make the new into its highest value.[34]

Craig gives shape to Ezra Pound's doctrine 'make it new' as his ultimate goal is to re-create the art of the theatre altogether. In creating a new theatre he was mainly interested in sketching out and firmly establishing his role as director. It is also characteristic that the role of the director as an independent entity in the theatre is defined within this particular aesthetic mode. In replacing the playwright, he is seen to free the theatre from representation, he turns the mirror that used to reflect the 'outside world' onto the stage itself. This destruction of the old theatre is again achieved in a highly Romantic manner. Craig quotes Eleonore Duse in an epigram used in *The Mask*:

> To save the theatre the theatre must be destroyed; the actors and actresses must die of the plague. They poison the air, they make art impossible.[35]

This is not a clinical death, nor a natural one. It is a ritualistic cathartic death that Craig preaches for the old theatre. The actors are seen as the main cause of deterioration. They must die a death of suffering that will give birth to the director. The mechanics of creating a 'new theatre' are something which he still considers too crude an operation to undertake. Although he spent most of his life writing and studying the theatre rather than producing plays, he still lacked the vocabulary that would help formulate his ideas. He writes in his Daybook of 1908-9:

> I want to study the theatre. I do not want to waste time producing plays... I want to leave behind me the seeds for the Art, for it does not yet exist. Such seeds are not discovered in a moment.[36]

This hesitancy of Craig's has often been interpreted as fear and insecurity. On one level, it also expresses the anxiety that derives from not belonging to one particular school of art. This was not necessarily something that Craig chose consciously, but more something very pragmatic, relating both to his personal artistic history and background, and to the age he was working in. Remaining faithful to his Romantic roots, Craig could never actually transform his ideal of the *new* into an ideal of the *modern*, consequently moving into a Modernist aesthetic. The term *Modern* and the modern world in general still triggered an aversion within him, even though his theories inevitably led there. He never quite manages to separate himself from the recent Romantic past. This quality in Craig's work finds unlikely allies in the Russian Symbolist tradition at the turn of the century.

2.3. Russian Symbolism/Soviet Constructivism.

The hailing of Nietzsche as the prophet of the new aesthetic was not only part of the English *zeitgeist* of the period. Nietzsche's *The Birth of Tragedy*, proclaiming all art as tragic and theatre as the ultimate apocalyptic artform, created a whole school of imitators/followers in yet another far away land - Russia. Craig's connection with the theatrical scene of Russia would reach its most concrete form with the production of the 'Moscow *Hamlet*' for the Moscow Art Theatre in 1912. This odd symbiosis is not as strange as it initially may appear, as even the naturalist/Stanislavskian experiment owes much to the 'theatremania' initiated by the Nietzschean cult.

The thread connecting the Symbolist tradition in the theatre with the more Modernist one that followed - or the old Russian tradition with the new Soviet experiment - is one heavily burdened with late Romantic and German Idealistic thought. Pamphlets, manifestos appear in Russia announcing the ritualistic death of the old theatre and the birth of the new *tragic art*. It is interesting to note that many of these debates were fought out in the pages of a journal, *Mir Iskustva* with which we have already compared *The Mask*. In line with the credo of the age a periodical appears on the forefront of the intellectual battles. Aleksandr Blok, Fyudor Sologub, Andrey Bely, Nikolay Evreinov and Vsevelod Meyerhold all partake in the formulation of the 'new theatre'. Craig's work was not unknown in this whole project. Laurence Senelick writes in *Russian Dramatic Theory from Pushkin to the Symbolists*:

European influences were potent as ever; and such innovators as Wagner, Ibsen, Isadora Duncan, Max Reinhardt and Gordon Craig were quoted and emulated, adapted and absorbed. But unquestionably the two strongest influences on the Russian drama and its theorists at the time were Friedrich Nietzsche and Maurice Maeterlinck.[37]

Indeed Craig's notions on the art of the theatre are very close to those of the Russian Symbolist school and remain so all through the twenty years of the publication of *The Mask* despite the fact that the Symbolist tradition, in the Soviet Union, filtered into a more Modernist one. *The Mask* serves to highlight these parallels much more than Craig's other writings. As a journal it constantly relied on a more general context, one that stressed the importance of Craig's influence, but also placed his work within a tradition. Fyodor Sologub's influential essay 'The Theatre of a Single Will' published in 1908, seems very Craigian indeed. It foreshadows Craig's powerful director figure and his idea of the *Ubermarionette*. Sologub writes:

I think the first obstacle to be overcome on this trail is the performing actor. The performing actor draws too much attention to himself, and obfuscates both drama and author. The more talented the actor, the more insufferable his tyranny over the author and the more baneful his tyranny over the play. To depose this attractive but nonetheless baneful tyranny, two possible remedies exist; either transfer the central focus of the theatrical presentation to the spectator in the pit or transfer it to the author backstage.[38]

The 'author backstage' in Craigian terms can only be the director. This idea of the theatrical praxis as expressing one single artistic will is directly parallel to Nietzschean thought. More elaborately, this theory is developed by Nikolay Evreinov in 'Introduction to Monodrama', a lecture delivered in Moscow at the Circle of Art and Literature also in 1908. For Evreinov a production could only project

in all its aspects the psyche of one artistic consciousness. In a highly expressionist manner this would be mirrored in every aspect of a production. Evreinov writes:

> Now by 'monodrama' I mean to denote the kind of dramatic presentation which, while attempting to communicate to the spectator as fully as it can the active participant's state of mind, displays the world around him on stage just as the active participant perceives the world at any given moment of his existence on stage.[39]

Four years later Craig would give shape to Evreinov's theories with his production of *Hamlet* with the Moscow Art Theatre, which Senelick calls 'the best example of the monodramatic principle on the Russian stage'. Evreinov himself aligns his work with that of Craig:

> Therefore Gordon Craig comes close to my way of thinking, for he is driven frantic by the stage training in modern authors; I applaud him wholeheartedly when he declares: 'We shall do without them, since they fail to provide us with the most important thing - something that is beautiful in a stage sense'.[40]

Evreinov's acknowledgement is not returned by Craig, even though their work is almost parallel chronologically. Craig's work *The Art of the Theatre* was known at the time in Russia, but similar theories would have existed had it been totally unknown. The parallels with the common theoretical background of both are more than obvious. Later Meyerhold had to announce that he hadn't read Craig's work in 1905 at the time of the Theatre-Studio in Moscow so as to avoid confusion.[41] Until about 1910-12 when the whole experiment started to follow different strands throughout Europe and Russia, it sounded as if the echo of Nietzsche could be heard in all the writings of the period on the theatre. The work of Craig was no exception.

Another theatre theoretician-cum-mystic who was popular at this time in Russia was the French author Edouard Schure (1841-1929). His writings ranging from works on musical history and mysticism to plays and theory on the theatre bear the marks of his Nietzschean background and promote the dominant 'theatrocracy' (Senelick) of the period. It is recorded that Schure's 'The Theatre of the Soul' was Craig's bedtime reading while he was working with the MAT in Moscow in 1912.[42] This essay was to appear in its first English translation in *The Mask* later that same year. In a typically Craigian manner the name of the translator, who also wrote the introduction is omitted. The introduction reads:

> The present essay is, as so much of M. Schure's work, a vindication of the dignity of the Theatre, of its vital importance in the life of a people, its incalculable influence, whether for good or evil, upon the entire being of man, 'sense, soul and mind': a grave warning that, unless it strive to rise to the best it must sink to the worst; and, if not 'a school of beauty, of truth and of rebirth', be inevitably 'a school of ugliness, of falsehood and of death'.[43]

Theatre is seen as the purgatory that offers collective *catharsis (χάθαρσις)*. Schure's essay proceeds to present a model of a theatre based on the tragic theatre of ancient Greece that is collective and orgiastic, enacting the tensions between the Apollonian and Dionysiac elements - a model borrowed once more from *The Birth of Tragedy*. This totalising and all-encompassing view of theatrical art was to be adopted by Craig as well. The theatre-cum-temple not only restores past glories, but also helps redeem the present modern world. Schure writes:

> The human soul, with its most profound mysteries and its most noble powers, the divine Psyche, had formerly its temples, its altars and its tripods. Today it seems excluded from our public life and driven

out of our institutions. Science waves it aside; the Church oppresses it; the World, drunk with luxury and pleasures, forgets it; art, having lost its way, no longer affirms it but feebly, and, if it speak of it at all, seems but to ask pardon for even naming it.[44]

This is theatre substituting religion, aesthetics and finally politics. This is the theoretical background that gives shape to Wagner's *phantasmagoria* - a style that replaces history with metaphysics and considers itself to be *sui generis*. As Adorno writes 'the standing still of time and the complete occultation of nature by means of phantasmagoria are thus brought together in the memory of a pristine age where time is guaranteed only by the stars'[45]. The same background leads Craig to endorse fascism.

2.4. **The Blake Revival and Walt Whitman**

As with the Modernist movements in stagecraft the work of Craig can be traced to late 19th century and mainly German theories of aesthetics. At the same time, it possesses a very distinct quality that separates it from the continental schools of the period. Although Nietzsche and Schopenhauer feature throughout the pages of *The Mask*, Craig's main influence is William Blake. Like Pater and Symons Craig reached Nietzsche through William Blake. Craig writes in his *Index to the Story of my Days* of 1890:

But what book, what author, was it that I knew better than all these - had known him since childhood and known and forgotten? The author of a book of verse and of drawings, flowing the one through the other? For it was he who was one of our family - we knew him so well - we needed not to stop when passing him in the house. This was William Blake. He was one I could not forget, since he was one of us and so I grew, without knowing it, to be part of him. But what was he to our stage? Nothing! To our house, Father's, Mother's, he was everything - but nothing to our stage. Yet in all my years he has been ever with me.[46]

Later, Craig was able to give form to his Blakean background. *The Mask* in many ways embodied Blakean notions of design and layout, illustrating Craig's influence and admiration. Through his work on the theatre Craig manages to appropriate Blakean aesthetics and make them part of 'his stage'. In this way, although Blake never wrote about theatre, his work becomes directly connected with Craigian theatre theory/practice, especially as presented through *The Mask*.

Quite a while before Nietzsche made his impact on the British scene Blake had a strong influence on the, so called, movement of English aestheticism. From the mid-nineteenth century onwards Blake enjoyed an enthusiastic revival initiated by the publication of Gilchrist's *The Life of William Blake* in 1863. This was followed by Swinburne's *William Blake* in 1868. Both these works, the first biographical and the second interpretive, were crucial in establishing a reputation for William Blake. They both projected an image of Blake as the 'mad' and prophetic poetic genius - Gilchrist's version more as an apology or a curiosity and Swinburne's as, more or less, the 'natural' condition of a true poet. Later, W.M. Rossetti's edition in 1874 and the Ellis-Yeats edition in 1893 helped systematize what Yeats called Blake's 'Symbolic System' and mould his image as an artist. As is the case with Nietzsche, and will later be with Whitman, madness is raised to heights of authority. It is definitely a sign of genius and goes hand-in-hand with the aphoristic and visionary philosophies both men preached. Craig wants his share of 'madness' as well. While analyzing himself in the foreword to his *Index to the Story of My Days* he says 'my parents had bestowed on me some natural gifts - which

suffered through being incorrectly understood and improperly nursed'. One of these was:

> Madness. Looking back over my eighty-four years, I should say that I had a touch of madness in me. When young I was dreadfully strung up. My dreams were often nightmares - and often I would walk in my sleep. Not like Lady Macbeth, wringing my hands and talking of blood. I was rather too young to have committed any crimes - so I must suppose my trouble was an inheritance - how or from whom I can't say, for I do not know.[47]

Craig wanted to be part of the Blakean tradition of 'mad' artistic geniuses.

Another characteristic of the Blakean revival was that those who contributed to it were at the same time concerned with formulating a theory of aesthetics of their own. Swinburne was chiefly giving shape to his theory of art while studying Blake. The same is true of the Pre-Raphaelites and Yeats.[48] This is not as clear with Craig as his Blakean influence is an indirect one. He is aware of the Swinburne publication, which he reviews in *The Mask*. He also reviews Gilchrist's *The Life of William Blake*, of which he writes in *The Mask*:

> A REVELATION. What? How can it be a revelation? the book has been known for years. Oh yes, KNOWN, ... as George III knew his foremost Poetic Genius. Known as the Blind Man sees everything, and the Deaf hear everything, yes, known as we know a storm is coming but are too lazy to really take it in. Take it in now, Children... Take it in ... Out of the storm. Take in William Blake and learn as quickly as you can everything he can tell you... Quickly, quickly, believe all he tells you; it's true... He doesn't tease a tired world with Politics, nor with moralizing, nor with Patriotism based on Profit and Propaganda; nor with anything. He is a great Poet, a great Artist, a perfectly sane thinker, and about the sanest Englishman we ever had... After you've understood Blake you'll see where Whitman is; then the rest of us... And do stop thinking, and comparing and discussing the merits of Dwarfs when these Giants stand offering you a NEW WORLD.[49]

Craig sees himself as a direct descendant of Blake in a line that includes Whitman. It is also noteworthy that he stresses Blake's saneness. Of course, Nietzsche is not excluded from the family tree. In an article entitled 'On Some Great Men', in *The Mask*, Craig writes:

> For though Nietzsche never speaks of William Blake and though perhaps he may never have read nor heard of Blake he is for all that of the same family.[50]

Like most figures of the aestheticist 90s, in reaching Nietzsche through Blake, Craig stresses his British roots. Pater and Symons add to this Blakean foreground as well; so it is the distinctively British context that marks Craig's work and separates it from other movements on the continent. *The Mask*, which was to be Craig's main European project, served to underline these differences. It is this clear Blakean strand combined with Arts and Crafts aesthetics that both lead Craig to Nietzsche and separate him from the German philosopher. In a manner which stresses his past, Craig replaces German nihilism with Romantic Idealism.

Another outstanding figure of the period who marks the work of Craig and theoretically differentiates it from other European works is Walt Whitman. Whitman stands side by side with Schopenhauer and Nietzsche in moulding the aesthetic consciousness of the late nineteenth century. Whether Nietzsche had actually read Whitman is not clearly known, but their work seems to exhibit two opposing facets of the same theoretical tradition. Both Nietzsche and Whitman acknowledge their debts to Emerson. It is the same Emersonian drive for life that Nietzsche transforms into the 'will to power' and Whitman into a form

of natural religion. Both men rode on a wave of Emersonian inspired vitalism. In characterizing himself as 'Walt Whitman, an American.... a Kosmos, Disorderly, fleshly and sensual', Whitman presents a more humanist version of Nietzsche's Dionysus. It is the image of Whitman as the American Adam that stands as a counterpart to Nietzsche's image of man as divine being.

Rossetti, Swinburne and Anne Gilchrist were the main advocates of Whitman in Britain. The same group was responsible for the Blakean revival. The parallels between William Blake and Walt Whitman are drawn by Swinburne himself:

> The points of contact and sides of likeness between William Blake and Walt Whitman are so many and so grave, as to afford some ground of reason to those who preach the transition of souls or transfusion of spirits. The great American is not a more passionate preacher of sexual or political freedom than the English artist. To each the imperishable form of a possible and universal Republic is equally requisite and adorable as the temporal and spiritual queen of ages as of men. To each all sides and shapes of life are alike acceptable or endurable... Both are spiritual, and both are democratic; both by their works recall, even to so untaught and tentative a student as I am, the fragments vouchsafed to us of the Pantheistic poetry of the East.[51]

Swinburne reads Whitman within the same framework as Blake. Both men are controversial figures and often invite diverse reactions. Indeed, Rossetti was obliged to impose a sort of self-censorship so as to get the first collection of Whitman's poetry published. 'This peculiarly nervous age, this mealy-mouthed British nineteenth century', he writes, could not accept 'the indecencies scattered through Whitman's writings'. Whitman, just like Blake before him, was an awesome

character, outrageous and outspoken, also labelled with what now came to be the mark of a genius - 'mad'.

In 1895 Max Nordau's *Degeneration* was published, which was to cause a great deal of commotion, because of its outright attack on modern art and its artists. In his book Nordau sharply criticizes Whitman:

> I should like here to interpolate a few remarks on Walt Whitman who is likewise one of the deities to whom the degenerate and hysterical of both hemispheres have for some time been raising altars. Lombroso ranks him expressly among 'mad geniuses'. Mad Whitman was without doubt. But a genius? That would be difficult to prove... He is morally insane, and incapable of distinguishing between good and evil, virtue and crime.[52]

Interestingly enough, continuing his attack on Whitman, Nordau compares him to Wagner in saying that men 'under the pressure of the same motives, arrived at the same goal - the former at 'infinite melody' which is no longer melody; the latter at verses which are no longer verses'. Both men are accused of redefining their medium - a blasphemous act. The same quality of Whitman that Rossetti and the other Pre-Raphaelites found attractive and parallel to their own artistic goals is termed 'degenerate' by Nordau. (Nietzsche, of course, does not escape Nordau and is added to his pantheon of 'degenerates' in a chapter entitled 'Egomania').

In publishing Whitman's works Rossetti is moving a step closer to formalizing his own aesthetics. As a review of his book says:

> He desires to have Walt Whitman recognized, not merely as a great poet, but as the founder of a new school of poetic literature which is to be greater and more powerful than any the world has yet seen. He is

not, it is true, entirely alone in this attempt. There have already been indications of a Walt Whitman movement in one or two quarters.[53]

William Blake and Walt Whitman are definitely seen as part of the same movement. The following generation of English 'aesthetes' will add Nietzsche to their list of 'prophets'. Craig follows in the same tradition focusing his interest on 'the art of the theatre', which, as Nordau would say, is no longer theatre as it is made 'infinite', total.

One aspect of Whitman that may seem to be contrary to Craig's aristocratic background and his firm credo in 'King and Country' is Whitman's 'democracy'. In the eyes of Craig, Whitman's politics are not seen as politics at all. His notions of democracy are seen as aesthetic ones that exhibit individualistic and anarchic tendencies. rather than solid and pragmatic political doctrines. Anyway, Whitman was an 'American', which for Craig meant that he had the licence to be be slightly eccentric. Nevertheless, he treats Whitman with due respect, almost always grouping him with Blake or Nietzsche. He writes in *The Mask*:

For THE CONSTRUCTORS OF THE WORLD are not Wells, not Shaw, not Clemenceau, no, nor the great Alfred... are not a Committee... rest to these perturbed spirits... but are William Blake and Walt Whitman and their kith and kin. Whitman sang songs for Democracy. How is it the swing is so regal? No one yet has ever explained this.
William Blake didn't bother his head about Democracy... and yet good Democrats find his Songs Divine.
Then *perhaps* p-e-r-h-a-p-s there is something which can become even more popular, less vexing and twenty times as successful as Democracy... as Aristocracy and all the rest of the Hocus-Pocus. Why not have THAT in place of Fudge as a foundation to a new world.[54]

Craig dismisses politics altogether, calling it Hocus-Pocus. Whitman is grouped as one of the 'constructors' of the world not because of his democratic beliefs, but mainly because he is a great artist. In employing the principle of universalization Craig's model, one shared with the later Modernists, views art as that which transcends history, and expresses supposed universal ideals. Shaw and the others he sneers at *do* have a clear political stance and it is one which Craig despises - socialism. The problem arises namely because Whitman is clearly political as well. Craig manages to defuse this. Not in an attempt to be clever, but chiefly because he *does* believe that there is *something* which can override political and historical reality - art - and the true artists should therefore be the ones to construct the world.

Whitman's Adam, in so far as he represents a more humanist version of Nietzsche's *Ubermensch*, blends in well with the heroic Romantic tradition. Whitman appears regularly in *The Mask*[55]. Craig had designed and engraved a portrait of Whitman for his first periodical *The Page*. In an article comparing Nietzsche to Whitman, Craig writes:

> Any student of Nietzsche should be a very careful student of Whitman and Blake. The first of them is of course our very own William Blake. Then comes the colossal mystery Whitman and then the careful arranger and builder Nietzsche.[56]

The influence of Blake is taken for granted as it is part of his own tradition. Whitman appears in a Romantic cloud of awe and Nietzsche is seen as the philosopher who moulds this aesthetic theory into form. It is characteristic that the movements immediately following Craig *did* break off from the strong Romantic tradition and managed to give form

to their theories. In doing so they were mainly under the influence of the 'arranger and builder Nietzsche', within a framework that could provide them with both the vocabulary and the methodology to materialize their ideas.

Late nineteenth century schools of aesthetics provide a very strong point of reference for the work of Craig. As an artist he is moulded within the philosophies of his time and they leave their signs on his work. As far as direct influence is concerned and especially that of Nietzsche and Schopenhauer, the effect is of a different order. Craig reaches German Idealism as it is filtered through the late Romanticism of Walter Pater and Arthur Symons. Early in his career Craig was to conceive Modernist notions of performance, but as long as he remained rooted in Romanticism, he lacked the language with which to express them.

A quotation from Pater's *The Law of Harmony* that Craig also quotes in *The Mask* serves to illustrate how determining the work of Pater was on Craig, and at the same time pre-echoes how this influence was to distance Craig from the other European movements in the theatre of the period:

> We are to become like little pieces in a machine you may complain... No, like performers rather, individually it may be, of more or less importance, but each with a necessary and inalienable part, in a perfect musical exercise which is well worth while, or in some sacred liturgy; or like soldiers in an invincible army, invincible because it moves as one man. We are to find, or be put into, and keep every one his natural place; to cultivate those qualities which secure mastery over ourselves, the subordination of the parts to the whole musical proportion.[57]

In replacing music by technology and the mechanics of construction as the main structuring unit in their work, the Futurist and Constructivist movements found formal means to articulate their theories. The work of Craig, on the other hand, deeply embedded in Romanticism and, at the same time, sharing Modernist anxieties about art, never quite manages to resolve the contradiction. His theoretical writings, *The Mask* included, are distinctly aphoristic and visionary rather than precise and practically applicable, always expressing the anxiety of a man who lacked the vocabulary to articulate his ideas.

CHAPTER III

THE MASK: THE PERIODICAL AS A MANIFESTO

Craig chose to publish *The Mask* in Italy and not in Britain, making it, above all, a European project. Europe, at the time, was a hot-house for new artistic ideas and political movements - in many cases side by side - most of which are either dealt with directly or echoed in *The Mask*. Movements like Cubism, Futurism and their main exponents are presented in the pages of *The Mask*. Craig's journal does not merely chronicle the Modernism of its time, but actively takes part in it. It compares, criticizes or advocates contemporary movements through its pages, but, more importantly, in doing so simultaneously creates a space for its own 'Art of the Theatre'. In this sense, *The Mask* assumes a manifesto-like quality and develops a rhetoric used to propagate most of the movements of the time. Revolutionary, extreme and apocalyptic, European Modernism utilised the form of the manifesto - elevating it in many cases to an 'Art form' - to express its total and absolute claims. The prophetic, romantic style of Nietzsche and the Symbolists gives way to that of the more iconoclastic and forceful manifesto. *The Mask*, whether admittedly or not, aligns itself with contemporary journals/manifestos as it not only sets out to redefine its medium, but, at the same time, encapsulates it within the broader claims of a 'grand theory'. In line with trends of its time, where artistic movements derive their ideologies from the extremes of the political spectrum, *The Mask* appears with fascist undertones and from that position presents and places the other ideologies of its time. Either

as a pseudo-historical extension of Romantic Idealism, as is the case in the early volumes of the journal, or in its strictly political dimensions, later on, fascism presents Craig with a theory that can accomodate the radical idealist tradition of Romanticism and the aestheticism of the Arts and Crafts movement into a more extreme, totalizing, technologically informed - hence 'modern' - ideology.

Modernism as a European movement could be said to incorporate two distinct strands, one *idealistic* and the other *materialistic*. The former comes as a direct result of Romanticism while the latter is purely a *modern* form, resulting from trends and ideologies of the twentiethcentury. Nietzsche is the adopted prophet for both schools of Modernism, even though his work is assimilated through very different channels in each case. Idealistic Modernism filters Nietzsche's work through that of Pater and later T.E Hulme and Wilhelm Worringer, whereas Materialistic Modernism uses Nietzsche as the initial inspiration, something that lights the spark, and later turns to Freud and Marx. Idealistic Modernism appears mainly in the works of the British modernists including Craig, in the work of Kandinsky and early German Expressionism, whereas Materialistic Modernism is articulated in the works of the Russian constructivists and of the Weimar group.

The main dividing line between the two trends is drawn by the fact that one, materialistic Modernism, is based on a historical social theory while the other derives all its ideology directly from aesthetics. Consequently, it moves towards the aesthetisation of history. Apocalypse seems be the goal for one while revolution is the

logical and desirable end for the other. *The Mask* with its Romantic past and its fascist present clearly falls heavily onto one side of this model. The framework itself can help determine its relationship with its contemporary movements and can resolve some of the seeming contradictions and difficulties in these interactions.

3.1. Abstraction - Empathy - Radicalism

Abstraction and Empathy[1] is the title of a study by Wilhelm Worringer which was first published in 1908 and was a best seller in the years to follow. Worringer's manifesto, as it is a short theoretical model he proposes, was to be for the first decade of the twentieth century what Nietzsche's *The Birth of Tragedy* was for the last decade of the previous century. Its influence was immense as it proposed a universal *urge to abstraction* as a model for a trans-historical/transcendental type of Modernism, with the contemporary trend being only one of its expressions. The urge to empathy, according to Worringer, can only produce representational art, which he considers to be of a lower order. Empathy itself is seen as a mode of being that relies on psychological identification (sympathy) with the world and art, and is based on the great tradition of European humanism. Against this Worringer proposes an 'urge to abtraction', in one of the first theoretical formulations of the radical and anti-humanist but, nonetheless, idealistic tradition in Modernism. The categories Worringer proposes are parallel to Nietzsche's *Apollonian* and *Dionysiac* modes. He writes:

We regard as this counter-pole an aesthetics which proceeds not from man's urge to empathy, but from his urge to abstraction. Just as the urge to empathy as a pre-assumption of aesthetic experience finds its gratification in the beauty of the organic, so the urge to abstraction finds its beauty in the life-denying inorganic, in the crystalline or, in general terms, in all abstract law and necessity.[2]

It is not for nothing that this is the period of the first revival of interest in Byzantine art. In general Oriental art forms, considered to be geometrical and non-representational, provide a model against the humanist and anthropomorphic modes of European Classicism. The *urge* to abstraction, as it is presented by Worringer is directly parallel to the German idealistic notion of the 'will to style', and provides the metaphysical structure required for an art that is without history, without 'nature', accountable only to itself and its needs. Proselytizing for this autonomy, Worringer writes:

Our investigations proceed from the presupposition that the work of art, as an autonomous organism, stands beside nature on equal terms and, in its deepest and innermost essence, devoid of any connection with it, in so far as by nature is understood the visible surface of things.[3]

The urge to abstraction is elevated to the status of a 'world theory', one that can explain not only aesthetic but also historical phenomena:

Whereas the precondition for the urge to empathy is a happy pantheistic relationship of confidence between man and the phenomena of the external world, the urge to abstraction is the outcome of a greater inner unrest inspired in man by the phenomena of the outside world; in a religious respect it corresponds to a strongly transcendental tinge to all notions. We might describe this state as an immense dread of space.[4]

Abstraction is seen by Worringer as the highest spiritual expression and the art it produces is of a purely ideal order. It is non-

historical, as any reading of history is seen as a form of empathy, leading to mimetic art. Art is viewed as a religious act; its main function being to separate the artist from the rest of the world.

> In the urge to abstraction the intensity of the self-alienative impulse is incomparably greater and more consistent. Here it is not characterised, as in the need for empathy, by an urge to alienate oneself from individual being, but as an urge to seek deliverance from the fortuitousness of humanity as a whole, from the seeming arbitrariness of organic existence in general, in the contemplation of something necessary and irrefragable. Life as such is felt to be a disturbance of aesthetic enjoyment.[5]

Worringer provided a theoretical framework for Idealistic Modernism; one that can also help determine the role of *The Mask* within its European context. Though at times his claims seem arbitrary, supported only by tendentious evidence, he nevertheless acted as ideological spokesperson for the movement in Europe which was certainly living through a time of 'inner unrest'. Another aspect of Worringer's thesis that was to be of great influence to the movements that followed was his anti-Humanist and anti-Renaissance spirit. He used Byzantine, Oriental and Primitive art to exemplify his points: the exact art forms that were to have a tremendous impact on the European art of the age. The most significant aspect of *Abstraction and Empathy* is that it constructs a theory of Modernism, still maintaining highly Romantic elements, stressing the spiritual and transcendental in preference to the real and historical, i.e. the political.

The main spokesperson for German aesthetics at the time in Britain was T.E. Hulme. To the liberal and organic Modernism that was developing at the time as a result of the Arts and Crafts movement and

the work of groups such as the Omega workshop, he proposed a radical idealistic alternative. He published his ideas in yet another periodical of the period, *The New Age* (which is reviewed in *The Mask*). In 1913 he published a translation of Bergson's *Introduction to Metaphysics* and in the winter of 1912-1913 he went to Berlin to attend lectures by Worringer.

In January 1914 Hulme gave a lecture on 'Modern Art and its Philosophy'. The lecture itself was an exposition of the knowledge he had aquired from his visits to Germany and constitutes probably the first formalisation of radical idealism in British Modernism. He claimed :

> that the new art differs not in degree but in kind from the art we are accustomed to, and that there is a danger that the understanding of the new may be hindered by a way of looking on art which is only appropriate to the art that preceded it.[6]

Hulme not only imported a new way of understanding art but, also a new way of being.

Neither Hulme nor Worringer appear in the pages of *The Mask* but they provide a theoretical framework within which the position of *The Mask* can be assessed in relation to the aesthetics of other movements (most of which are also propagated through periodicals). With its Romantic roots, its aversion for the modern world and Modernity[7] in general, its fascination with art forms of the east *The Mask* can quite neatly be seen as an expression of Worringer's urge to abstraction. Combined with its fascist undertones it can be placed within the

tradition of radical Idealist Moderism. At the same time, it expresses some of the contradictions and dead-ends that particular strand of Modernism led to.

The periodicals/manifestos that *The Mask* best contrasts with in this area, exhibiting the two diametrically different 'schools' of Modernism, are mainly German ones. Between 1910 and 1920, amid the chaos of artistic and political factionism, two periodicals managed to prevail. They were both based in Berlin and promoted a left-wing Materialistic Modernism, which sees art in terms of the production structures of the society - as a commodity - and views progress in terms of the Marxist concept of class struggle. These were *Der Sturm* of Herwarth Walden and *Die Aktion* of Franz Pfemfert.[8] Like Craig, Walden saw the theatre as the arena where he could promote his ideas and formed *a Storm-Theatre* in 1917 and a school for the arts in 1916. These German periodicals helped prepare the ground for the development of one of the most important European movements of the period: the Weimar Bauhaus which was founded by Walter Gropius in 1919. From the *First Proclamation of the Weimar Bauhaus* we can see how art is defined in an organic, materialistic sense. In many ways it reads like a radicalised version of William Morris :

> Architects, sculptors, painters, we must all turn to the crafts. Art is not a 'profession'. There is no essential difference between the artist and the craftsman. The artist is an exalted craftsman. In rare momemts of inspiration beyond the control of his will, the grace of heaven may cause his work to blossom into art. But proficiency in his craft is essential to every artist. There lies a source of creative imagination.[9]

Meanwhile the English tradition in Modernism was continuing to divorce the artistic process from any notion of socio-political structure and to elevate the artist into a trans-historical transcendental figure. Clive Bell writes in *Art*, published in 1914 :

> The artist and the saint do what they have to to do, not to make a living, but in obedience to some mysterious necessity. They do not produce to live - they live to produce. There is no place for them in a social system based on the theory that what men desire is prolonged and pleasant existence. You cannot fit them into the machine, you must make them extraneous to it. You must make pariahs of them, since they are not part of society but the salt of the earth.[10]

Craig's work is not as aloof and unaware of the contemporary movements and ideas as Bell's writing here is (as the pages of *The Mask* clearly indicate). However, the Bell quotation, still embedded in Romanticism, does serve to exemplify the tradition that bred Craig: a tradition that he was in many ways trying to reconcile with the continual bombardment of ideas he was receiving on the continent.

3.2. Contrasts/Parallels with Contemporary Movements

The Mask partakes in the European cultural scene not only on a meta-level, but also directly through its pages. Movements, trends, schools, ideas and their advocates are presented , sometimes praised, sometimes condemned, at times totally misunderstood, but always given the limelight in a highly theatrical manner in accordance with the performative quality of the journal. Futurism is one of the main movements that occupies Craig especially in the middle years of the publication of *The Mask* (1911-1914).[11] In general, Craig is concerned with contemporary movements mainly during the same period, as it is

the time most schools also publish their manifestos. Either due to the fact that he was living and working in Italy, or to other more theoretical and ideological parallels, Craig shows quite a keen interest in Futurism, publishing the first English translation of the Futurist Manifesto on the theatre. However, he is not always sympathetic, and his attitude towards them is quite ambivalent. On one level, there are striking parallels between his work and that of the Futurists. Both share an Idealistic framework with utopian notions of history. The Futurists' fascination with technology and industrialisation, however, couldn't be further from Craig's attitude. In a sense it is their very acceptance of Modernity that differentiates them from Craig. Still maintaining its Romantic roots, Futurism proves a surprising ally for Craig. In a sense Futurism appears as a Romantic reading of Cubism and Constructivism. As Fry perceptively put it:

> The Italian Futurists have succeeded in developing a whole system of aesthetics out of a misapprehension of some of Picasso's recondite and difficult works.'[2]

And it is the seeming contradictions, the idiosyncracies and eccentricities of Italian Futurist theory and practice, which are exactly the elements Craig found attractive and even parallel to his own work.

'Futurism and The Theatre: A Futurist Manifesto' appears in Volume 6 of *The Mask*, in 1913. This was the first publication of this manifesto in English, in a translation by D.Nevile Lees, Craig's

companion and secretary in Florence[13]. Like the general *Futurist Manifesto* which was published in *Le Figaro* in 1909, it appeared at a time when not a single work of Futurist theatre had been written or performed. As an introduction to his own commentary on the manifesto Craig writes:

> While doing this I want you to remember that it is not essential to our understanding in any way to mistake the Futurists as a band of wild madmen or silly fools. They are neither. They are quite serious and strong fellows.[14]

Nevertheless, despite the tolerance that Craig wants to show towards the Futurists, he continues in the same article:

> The Futurist Manifesto is the most impertinent piece of ignorance that ever a set of courageous and frisky young men trumped up to deceive themselves with while occupied with other and more profound thoughts.[15]

Although Craig seems very patronizing in his criticism of Futurism he could not ignore its impact altogether, especially living in Italy. The mere fact that he published the manifesto in full indicates that he took the whole affair seriously. For him Futurism was a 'phase'. He ends his article by stating that 'Finally, I do heartily approve of this queer grim Manifesto... Futurismo in the Theatre can do no harm. More room for it, then. Let it go on... it must go on... we must get over it.[16]

A few years later, still in the middle period of the journal, in Volume 8 of *The Mask* Craig would voice one of his main disagreements with the Futurist movement. Their adoration of technology as the

creator of the new utopia was something that echoed too 'modern' in Craigian terms. Technology, for Craig, was one of the 'evils' of Modernity, causing the death of a 'grand past' and not necessarily heralding a brave new future. He writes:

SPEED - There is still an erroneous idea fluttering around that the quickest things are the motor car, the aeroplane, the telegraph, train so forth.
I will tell you something quicker. It is the Imagination of Man. And because Imagination outstrips all else it gets there sooner... Do you see?[17]

Craig's imagination is inhabited by Romantic ghosts rather than Modernist/Futurist machines. Indeed it is his fascination with the past rather than the future which marks another source of discontent with the more modern movements. Where Futurism had substituted utopia for history, Craig had a nostalgic, Romanticised conception of history. Both views are actually expressions of Idealism and neither sees the historical process as an interpretive device for the present. Marinetti's calls for total destruction of the art of the past sounded blasphemous to Craig. He believed he was working within a great tradition that he would gradually form part of. He writes in *The Mask* in 1914, a year after he had published the Futurist manifesto in its pages:

That the two great divisions of time Past and Future, appeal to us as being each dependent on each other in this work of the Theatre should surprise no one. Our wish is not to startle but to go on with our work... Never did we dream we should be thought to be revolutionary, had no thoughts to deride 'the old school' nor laugh at honest failures.[18]

Despite the rhetoric here, which is quite prophetic and aphoristic - manifesto-like - Craig declares his traditionalism. His reference to the past as the old school uses just as hazy and idealised a notion as the Futurists' references to the term 'the future'. He has a natural aversion to the idea of revolution as it has a very modern/modernist connotation for him. The supposed chasm with the past that Modernism proclaimed, the absolute 'break' with tradition is something which Craig finds blasphemous. As early as 1914 looking back into the past becomes much more important for his work than prophesying about the future. It is interesting to note that during these years (1911-15), when *The Mask* is concerned with evaluating its Modernist contemporaries, it also resorts to the 'glorious past'. This Craig uses as both a personal reaction against, and as a corrective to the 'newness' of Modernism. He ends his commentary on *The Futurist Manifesto in the Theatre* with the following declaration:

> Epilogue: I'm a bit of a Revolutionary myself. not to be in the fashion, I revolt against Revolt. I believe I want Order, and Obedience to be as natural as chaos and disloyalty.'[19]

The 'Order' and 'Obedience' that Craig speaks of are not the materialistic notion of order and control that we find in Cubism and Constructivism or in its Neo-classical dimensions (as in the rather later work of Picasso, Stravinsky or Joyce). His is a metaphysical order, mysteriously uniting the art of the past with that of the present and leading it into the future. Craig uses the terms in a way that is similar to the terms 'arrangments' and 'harmonies' used by Whistler in the 1890s.

Art should be independent of clap-trap - should stand alone, and appeal to the artistic sense of eye or ear without confounding this with emotions entirely foreign to it, as devotion, pity, love, patriotism, and the like. All these have no kind of concern with it; and that is why I insist on calling my works 'arrangements' and 'harmonies'.[20]

Whistler was one of the main exponents of the autonomy of art in the second half of the 19th century. The opposition to the pure aestheticism of Whistler was expressed by Ruskin and Morris, who believed that art ought to have an organic relationship with society and politics at large. Craig's roots definitely lie in the explicitly aestheticist 1890s, and not so much in the more organic and socially aware strand of that movement. This also accounts for his particular 'blend' of Modernism. If the Morris school can be seen as a forerunner to the later Constructivist and functional movements in Europe (i.e. Bauhaus), the aestheticism of Whistler can certainly foreshadow the idealistic trends in Modernism that were to follow a generation later. It is this tradition Craig turns to in defining his position within a European context. For his final attack on the Futurists he resorts to Whistler:

As signor Marinetti very rightly says 'The Futurists paint what they see'. And as Mr. Whistler as rightly said 'the shock will be when they see what they paint'.[21]

Despite his ambivalence towards them, Craig shared common ground with the Futurists in at least one more aspect. Both Craig and Marinetti shared the anxiety of forming a new rhetoric for their art. Their concerns were more meta-theatrical than purely theatrical. Both

men did a lot of theorising and explaining; in many ways the work came second. The Futurists would almost invariably write a manifesto first for a particular artistic mode and only then start experimenting with it. As a method of work this was similar to Craig's. However, although Craig and Marinetti work within the same general framework of idealistic Modernism, Craig could never wholeheartedly accept Futurism.

In an attack Craig mounts against Futurist painting, through another issue of *The Mask*, he expresses the source of his reservations:

> The painter is trying to do in line and colour what movement alone can accomplish. He therefore makes a big blunder. Fancy a Futurist blundering! Surely that was not intentional. It comes from forgetting that movement is the property of another and quite different artist, namely the artist of the Theatre. And it comes from the modern lust after other people's property which has made the European quite crazy of late. Some more-than-Futurist will soon come along who will profess to give sound to pictures.[22]

He becomes all the more defensive when his role as Artist of the Theatre is threatened and falls back on his usual accusation of claiming that others 'steal' or 'borrow' his work. The above quotation ironically has a prophetic, even futurist, ring to it as it foresees the arrival of 'talking pictures'.

Kandinsky, to whom Craig is much closer theoretically, sums up Craig's view well when he says of the Futurists:

> I cannot free myself from the strange contradiction that I find their ideas, at least for the main part, brilliant, but am in no doubt whatsoever as to the mediocrity of their work.[23]

Kandinsky and the *Blaue Reiter* circle form one of the most influential groups in the Europe of the period, and their work is significant in relation to Craig, as it too presents a type of idealistic Modernism. The *Blaue Reiter* was a manifesto and its theoretical concerns are much closer to *The Mask* than anything the Futurists wrote, even though Craig does not directly deal with it and there is no evidence that he was even aware of it. The *Blaue Reiter* was first published in 1912 in what was intended to be the first of a periodical publication, which never continued. Like *The Mask* it proposed a synaesthetic model for the arts, and propagated the ideal of totality through a multi-media, theatre-type art form. Franc Marc, the co-editor, writes in the subscription prospectus:

> Today art is moving in a direction of which our fathers would never even have dreamed. We stand before the new pictures as in a dream and we hear the apocalyptic horsemen in the air. There is an artistic tension all over Europe. Everwhere new artists are greeting each other; a look, a handshake is enough for them to understand each other!
>
> Out of the awareness of this secret connection of all new artistic production, we developed the idea of the *Blaue Reiter*. It will be the call that summons all artists of the new era and rouses the laymen to hear... The first volume herewith announced, which will be followed at irregular intervals by others, includes the latest movements in French, German, and Russian painting. It reveals subtle connections with Gothic and primitive art, with Africa and the vast Orient, with the highly expressive, spontaneous folk and children's art, and especially with the most recent musical movements in Europe and the new ideas for the theatre of our time.[24]

The general framework of the *Blaue Reiter* is similar to that of *The Mask*. Both publications function as manifestos: they are working towards a synaesthetic artistic form, and they are both fascinated with primitive and Oriental art. Both can be seen as an expression of

Worringer's urge to abstraction, substituting the spiritual and the idealistic for the material and historical, for Kandinsky shared Craig's fear of 'modernity'. To him art belonged to a higher spiritual order:

A great era has begun: the spiritual 'awakening', the increasing tendency to regain 'lost balance', the inevitable necessity of spiritual plantings, the unfolding of the first blossom.

We are standing at the threshold of one of the greatest epochs that mankind has ever experienced, the epoch of great spirituality.

Art, literature, even 'exact' science are in various stages of change in this 'new' era; they will all be overcome by it.[25]

Theatre occupies a privileged position in the Almanac. It is viewed as the artistic mode that may bring back the spiritual in art through its synaesthetic nature. In an article entitled 'On Stage Production' Kandinsky outlines quite an elaborate theory for a purely abstract theatre. He proposes music, movement and colour as structuring units for a plotless, actionless and 'idea-less' theatre. He also presents a play entilted *The Yellow Sound - A Stage Composition.* As the title suggests it consists of very detailed directions of what might be conceived as moving tableaux. The acts are actually called 'pictures'. For Kandinsky the 'final goal' of art is knowledge which 'is reached through the delicate vibrations of the human soul'. The aim of such a theatre is to set these spiritual vibrations into motion. He writes in his theory for stage composition:

There are three elements that as external methods serve the inner value:

1. The musical sound and its movement,
2. The physical-psychical sound and its movement, expressed through people and objects,
3. The coloured tone and its movements (a special possibility for the stage).[26]

Kandinsky's formulations read like more abstract and minimalist versions of Craig's ideas for theatre production. He too uses music as a paradigm for movement and action. He works towards a non-psychological (but not necessarily non-spiritual) theatre with his idea of the *Ubermarionette*, which can be seen as the carrier of 'physical-psychical sound'. Craig's idea of 'painting with light' is also parallel to Kandinsky's 'coloured tone and its movements'. Regarding the experimental use of colour and music both men had similar kinds of influences, though from quite different sources. Craig was aware of Sir Hubert Von Herkomer's synaesthetic attempts. In 1912 a book entitled *Colour Music* was published: it was written by Rimington, and the introduction was by Herkomer. Rimington had created the Colour-Organ for his purposes - a machine that produced colour sequences that correlated to musical scores. Kandinsky, on the other hand, had been influenced by Scriabin, on whom there is an article in the *Blaue Reiter*. He is heralded as the new prophet for the reunification of the arts:

> The time for the *reunification* of the separate arts has arrived. This idea was vaguely formulated by Wagner, but Scriabin expresses it much more clearly today. All the arts, each of which has achieved an enormous development individually, must be united in one work, whose *ambiance* conveys such a great exaltation that it must *absolutely* be followed by an authentic ecstasy, an authentic vision of higher realities.[27]

Scriabin, like Rimington, had worked out a spectrum according to which musical tones corresponded to colours. He used this system of correspondence in his production of *Prometheus*. Craig does not seem very impressed with Scriabin's experiments. In an article entitled

'Colorific Music' he traces the trend back to the 18th century. This historicity of Craig's becomes an obsession towards the last issues of *The Mask*. Repeating a familiar attack on his Modernist colleagues, he writes in 1927:

> It was, I think, in 1910, that I heard Scriabin in Moscow on his piano. ... Scriabin was trying to work out, or had already worked out, some artistic problem about the relationship of colour and sound... But somewhat earlier - in 1776 - appeared a book by a certain W. Hooper M. D. in which is a chapter called 'Colorific Music'. I give it here and you can judge for yourself whether it is in any way related with the recent (150 years too late) discoveries.[28]

The article continues with a very clear diagram of W. Hooper's system of correspondences between notes and colour ranges. Naturally Hooper's experiments present a more basic and naive attempt at the sort of work Scriabin was doing, and what is more, the general framework is very different. Hooper was working more as a natural scientist, interested in how the senses function in response to various stimuli. The Modernists' experiments in colorific music encompass a very distinct aesthetic position - the attempt to create totality in art through the redefinition of the 'nature' of music. Craig's perspective was hardly sensitised towards these issues. Rather than looking for correlations with his contemporaries, many of whom, like the *Blaue Reiter* group, shared backgrounds and future aims, he almost invariably looked back for analogies and parallels. Kandinsky's and Marc's the *Blaue Reiter* is the most strikingly similar contemporary publication to *The Mask*. Although not as long-lived as *The Mask*, it embodied many Craigian ideals in both its physical appearance and its contents. Unfortunately neither party was aware of the other.

Being so determined to remain faithful to his concept of 'tradition', of 'the past', Craig develops a kind of pseudo-historicity in the last issues of *The Mask*, according to which he finds historical correlatives for modern movements. It is significant that this trend develops in the late 1920s by which time the slogan 'make it new' was slightly old fashioned. Craig's ideas themselves, although revolutionary at the time of their conception, were by now almost mainstream amongst experimental theatres in Europe. Craig's Romantic belief in the uniqueness of his artistic theories and his very 'genius' as an artist helped create a narrow mindedness, which is evident in the last issues of *The Mask*. This obstructs him from working creatively with fellow artists, and it shades his perception of his contemporary movements. At times it leads to misconception, oversimplification and total appropriation of Modernist trends to artistic movements of the past. When working in the opposite direction of assessing artistic movements of the past, Craig exhibits an impressive knowledge and an acute understanding of his topic. The same is not, unfortunately, true of his studies of twentieth-century modes.

Cubism and Craig's interpretation of it furnish a characteristic example of the distorting effect of his obsession with the 'traditional past'. In an article entitled 'Cubism as Old as the Pyramids' (1913), he presents his evidence as an 'outstanding discovery', in an attempt to unveil the sources of 'true Cubism'.

> In our last number we gave a series of illustrations as proof that the Cubists, who claim to be the newest of the new, the 'dernier cri' in sculpture and painting, are not really new at all; that they are merely the conceited and disorderly followers of a great master who, four hundred years ago, knew all the secrets which they profess to have discovered. This master was the German, Albert Durer...[29]

The main point that seems to bother Craig is the fact that the Cubists claim to be 'the newest of the new'. In this continual struggle for 'newness', Craig's innovation lay in the fact that he acknowlegded that he was working within a tradition. His idea that Cubism somehow copied existing forms reveals his total misunderstanding of fundamental principles of the type of Modernism that Cubism represents. The idea of reinterpreting and reconstructing existing artistic modes towards new goals and with new media seems foreign to Craig. For him the past is idealised and therefore static. This is more characteristic of his perception of the arts in general, whereas, regarding the theatre in particular, he does manage to use the past organically. He also works against the very grain of Modernism when he puts forward the notion that artistic creation involves the revealing of some sort of clearly-defined and centred 'secret'. Still floating in Romantic clouds he fails to see the Neo-classicism of Cubism and claims that their ideas were 'very well known to artists, not merely some hundreds, but thousands of years ago'. He adds:

> But let us not forget that it was known with this supreme difference: ... that as Durer used his method only as a means to an end, doing his best, as Mr Urban wrote in July 'to hide all art by being too much of an artist to show how he was doing the thing', so did the artists of those remote times allow no evidence of effort, no desire to show how 'clever' they were, to detract from the supreme calm of their finished work.[30]

Here a noticeably more sophisticated argument is used. The artistic process itself is of no interest. Only the result counts. Craig considers it 'cleverness' when an artist reveals his methods. Cubism

in deconstructing the creative process and incorporating it as part of the work of art, is being indulgent, as far as Craig is concerned. He urges the Cubists to remember a verse by William Watson:

> No record art keeps
> Of its struggles and throes;
> There is toil on the steeps,
> On the summit repose.[31]

Craig's conception of what he considers to be 'classical unity' does not allow him to see how the Cubists interpret this notion and appropriate it to their work. He ends his article with a simile: the Cubist artist, he asserts, is someone 'who goes struggling before our eyes (like a modern Sisyphus),... bearing instead of the "shameless stone" a cube upon his back'. The myth of Sisyphus was to be interpreted later by the existentialists, as a metaphor for a world that has lost all sense of intention and purpose. Craig in his usual aphoristic manner makes quite an insightful point. In trying to redefine the very nature and function of art, Cubism is only one of the movements of the period that develops a degree of self-awareness and self-reflection that previous art modes lacked. The creative process itself is accentuated because the final goal has become very obscure. The Sisyphus myth funtions very well as a symbol for that quintessentially Modernist project of having initiated a process that may not necessarily lead anywhere at all.

3.3. Meetings With Outstanding Persons.

Although Craig had problems when it came to collaborating with fellow artists and only managed to work with a few, he uses *The Mask* not only to expose his views on contemporary movements, but also to highlight his sometimes uneasy relationships with his colleagues. Diaghilev is such a figure. In many ways his rise is parallel to that of Craig's, though Craig never achieved the fame that Diaghilev did. Diaghilev, like Craig, was involved with a periodical early in his career, *The World of Art*. He then went on to form the Russian Ballet, which Craig reviews in the pages of *The Mask*. The Russian Ballet, among other things, touched upon a particular strand of Orientalism which was already prevalent in the visual arts of 19th century France. With his company's *Scheherazade* Diaghilev manifests the Orientalism that plays a special role in idealistic Modernism. As Edward Said, among others, has shown, the Orient presents the ideal locus for sexual and political fantasy. Both the *Blaue Reiter* and *The Mask* are fascinated with oriental art forms. For Modernism the Orient becomes a new *terra incognita* whose artistic modes it can appropriate into its own theoretical framework. Craig follows this pattern with his concern for the theatre of the Orient[32]. Apart from utilising similar sources, the Russian Ballet also interested Craig in purely theatrical terms[33]. Craig's notion of theatrical movement as dance is very close to ballet. Diaghilev's increasing use of well-known artists for stage design and the changes these artists introduced to scene design as a whole, were things that Craig found intriguing, but also threatening. In an article entitled 'Kleptomania, or The Russian Ballet' he writes

(in 1911 just after the Russian Ballet had made a triumphant appearance in Paris):

There is so much Russian art being let loose into the theatres of Europe lately that it may be as well to study some specimens of it and see what has made the thing so popular and whether there is sufficient ground for so much sudden and insincere enthusiasm.[34]

Authenticity again is the criterion by which Craig attacks the Russian Ballet. Within a Modernism that has come to terms with re-working past and foreign artistic modes, and where the word 'new' has lost some of its magic power, Craig continues to seek clear-cut distinctions between old and new. He continues in the same article:

But the Russians have done a clever thing: they have increased the value of their French Ballet by adding to it a few tricks stolen from other lands and other arts. This was clever of them,... and highly reprehensible.

... While doing so they stole an idea or two from the only original dancer of the age, the American, and another idea or two from the most advanced scene designers of Europe and superimposed all these upon the wirey artificial framework of the old French Ballet.[35]

The American Craig refers to is Isadora Duncan, who did have an influence on the progressive Russian Ballet when she appeared in Russia. The production Craig is attacking is *Scheherezarde*, a highly Orientalist version of the Islamic myth with designs by Bakst. Craig becomes especially aggresive (always under the pseudonym of John Balance) when talking of Bakst's designs, as he considers scenic design to be his domain of artistic creation. Having already fired his accusation of theft, which, as the years go by, becomes his favourite attack, he continues:

Although his designs are ugly, they are only ugly enough to shock Parisians. ... It is never terrible like Daumier, nor has it the irony of Beardsley's demon. Bakst is ugly on account of his clumsy sense of the sensual.[36]

What Craig calls Bakst's 'clumsy sense of the sensual' is mainly due to his Orientalism and could stand as a valid point had it been placed within the theoretical context that would account for it. However, Craig's main attack is focused on his concept of originality:

It is not original; it is something learned and then made. They create nothing... As a work of Art then the Russian Ballet is a myth; as a work of originality it is a fraud. The dancers, painters and wig-makers of the troupe are all charming will o' the wisps and their light is certainly not to be trusted. [37]

The word 'original' aquires an almost metaphysical status. The process of influence and assimilation is considered mechanical and not creative. Art for Craig should be instinctive and apocalyptic and should leave no traces of the paths it has followed.

Craig's anger reaches its peak when The Russian Ballet performs in London with the same success it had in Paris. He writes in the editor's notes of *The Mask* this time under the pseudonym of John Semar:

The visit of the Russian Ballet to Covent Garden has proved a grand failure.
Englishmen are generally telling each other (and incidentally the foreigners) that fine English Dancing can only be born by asking a Russian Ballet master to come over and train our feet. Isn't it stupendous!
Our Modern Patriotism. 'Down with England, long live the Tartars'.[38]

In great colonial style, it seems the longer Craig remained away from England the more Victorian and xenophobic he became.

A year later, in 1913, Craig speaks in his own voice, announcing the true reason for his attack against the Russian Ballet. In reply to an announcement saying that he was going to produce a ballet he writes:

> For NO amount of Ballets which I might produce would ever be announced by me as Works of Art, and I should, as I have ever done, protest against their being so considered. Well then... where are we?[89]

Here Craig exhibits a type of small-mindedness and xenophobia which was to escalate as the years went by and shape his encounters with other artists. In a gesture that totally dismisses the synaesthesia of the whole Diaghilev project, he claims that the only true art form is the theatre (as he conceives it, of course). Any other art form that claims the stage, which according to Craig only belongs to spoken drama, is threatening. The best way to deal with it is to dismiss it from the realm of art altogether.

We know from the diaries of Count Kessler that Craig met Diaghilev at least once. This was in 1928 after a performance of *Petruschka* when they all went to dinner together. No further comment is made in the diary regarding Craig's response to the performance. Craig had a much closer working relationship with the Russian spoken theatre. During Isadora Duncan's first tour of Russia, her enthusiasm about Craig managed to convince Stanislavsky to invite Craig to Moscow to

work with the Moscow Art Theatre. The combination seems an unlikely one as Stanislavsky was at the time being hailed as the high priest of Naturalism. Craig first visits Moscow in 1908 and by 1912 his production of *Hamlet* is staged at the Moscow Art Theatre. The collaboration with Stanislavsky is recorded in *The Mask* through the correspondence that Craig had with the editor John Semar i.e. himself, throughout the whole period of his visit to Moscow.

Craig's ideas on the theatre were not altogether new on the Russian scene. Apart from Stanislavsky, who was concerned in scientifically formulating Naturalism, the Russian Futurists and the Symbolist and Decadent movements before them were all working in more or less the same area of experimentation as Craig. In 1908, the same year that Craig arrived in Moscow, a book entitled *Theatre, A Book about the New Theatre* was published in St.Petersburg. The main contributors formed part of a group that was later to form Meyerhold's experimental studio. They were the designer Aleksandr Benois, the symbolist poets Bryusov and Bely, the socialist theoretician Lunacharsky and Meyerhold himself. The book itself promoted an abstract, highly stylized theatre under the control of a single artistic consciousness. 'The drama is the product of a single concept, just as the universe is the product of a single creative idea' wrote Sologub in his essay in the same book [49]. Acting would have to be so precise and schematic that only a puppet could perform ideally in this type of theatre. From its very title to the concepts it includes the book could have easily been written by Craig. And in a sense it was since the Englishman's influence was profound in this circle. Craig's

first dialogue had been pirated and published in Russia in 1906. Meyerhold wrote of Craig in 1909:

> It is remarkable that in the very first year of this new century E. G. Craig flung a challenge to the naturalistic theatre ... therefore, this young Englishman is the first to set up initial guideposts on the new road of the Theatre.[41]

It was not Meyerhold that Craig had come to work with though. Meyerhold had been fired and, despite the similarities in their work, the two men did not meet until 1935. Craig was supposed to design for the theatre that possibly more than any other had helped to create a language for Naturalism on the stage: the Moscow Art Theatre. Stanislavsky was having problems at the time with his 'system'. In an attempt to expand the company's aesthetic concerns he invited Craig. Unlike Meyerhold, he was not informed of Craig's work and knew of him only through fame and rumour. Their approaches to theatre were diametrically opposite and this obviously caused problems in their working relationship. This working relationship was extensively documented in *The Mask*. Craig's correspondence (with himself) all the while he was in Russia is published in his journal. Despite their enormous differences *Hamlet* was staged and Craig maintained his respect for Stanislavsky and the Russian tradition in the theatre. In his correspondence with Semar (himself) in *The Mask* he would dispel all rumour and suspicion of disruption in their working relationship. He writes:

> You ask me how I feel after my third visit to Moscow. I feel tremendous for I feel that I have found friends... In the production of *Hamlet* in Moscow we are all doing as we think best. We have

experienced several attempts to break this harmony on the part of envious creatures who have nothing better to do than create discord, but so far every attempt has broken itself against itself.[42]

The almost apologetic tone of the above statement reveals its true function. It is a fact that Craig did not work well with Stanislavsky. He managed to work harmoniously with the Art Theatre's producer Nemirovitch Danchenko. This was mainly because Danchenko did not interfere with Craig's creative process. Craig had not come to Moscow to be merely a designer. He wanted to be responsible for every aspect of the performance. Also it is possible that Danchenko took Craig's side in the quarrels as part of his personal feud with Stanislavsky. He saw it as an ideal chance to weaken Stanislavsky's influence in the Moscow Art Theatre, and, through Craig, to strengthen his own. Craig quotes Danchenko in an attempt to dissolve the rumours of his disagreement with Stanislavsky:

Now Craig unites in one person the director and the artist. All rumours as to any misunderstandings between Craig and Stanislavsky are false. On the contrary, Stanislavsky is quite under the fascination of what he calls 'Craig's genius'.[43]

Craig's admiration and respect for Stanislavsky is not consistent throughout all of his personae in *The Mask*. Under the pseudonym John Balance, who, as the name suggests, always manages to keep a cool, distanced perpective on things, he discreetly launches his attack on the Russian theatre:

Mr Gordon Craig has told us that the Moscow Art Theatre is the first in Europe, but I have noticed that when writing of that theatre he has invariably treated it as an organization and made no mention of its art. He has been very particular upon this point and his discrimination is significant.[44]

John Balance once again uses originality as the ultimate criterion of true art, in a pattern that follows the same line of argument as his attack on The Russian Ballet. Like the previous article, this one is called 'Kleptomania, or the Russian Theatre'.

In many respects Craig's attack on the Moscow Art Theatre can be theoretically justified as it represents the kind of theatre that Craig wanted to destroy. On the other hand, Craig could not help but admire the organization and dedication of the Russians. He believed that the work Stanislavsky was doing was like a historical phase in the development of the theatre: a phase which had to be passed in order to reach his own areas of experimentation. He writes in his review of *My Life in Art*:

> It has been proved by you, more than by anyone else at any time, that the artist may only (can only) work in a material which is 'dead' material (I search for a better word in vain) if he will create a work of art... Your book must live because of the sincerity which breathes out of every page of it. You have raised the entire profession of Theatrical workers to a position it cannot recede from. You have at last made it impossible to retreat. We salute you with affection and with reverence.[45]

Had Craig worked with Meyerhold the result would have been interesting indeed. The two men represent two very different, almost conflicting, schools of Modernism in the theatre. Their concepts are parallel but derive from opposing theoretical backgrounds. Meyerhold, with Dialectical Materialism as a guideline, deconstructs his initial ideas and moves towards the formulation of a theory that can put them into practice. He acknowledges the modernity of his age and assimilates the changes his medium has undergone. At the same time he

sees his art as part of a society that was itself swept by the tumult of revolutionary change. This helped to define very clearly the relationship of his art to society and history in general. Like other movements in Europe, it does not consider aesthetics to be its grand theory. Art is subjugated under a more general world theory (Marxism). The artistic process is seen as a dialectic which can be analysed and studied.

Craig stands on the other side of the spectrum of Modernist trends. His theoretical background is an idealistic romantic one. Craig had visions where Meyerhold had specific plans for the theatre of the future. Craig's work appears prophetic where Meyerhold's displays methodological precision. Craig envisaged the *Uber marionette* before Meyerhold but, it was Meyerhold that worked towards a specific system of exercises for the human body (bio-mechanics) that would help transform it into a fully controllable object on the stage. Many of Craig's designs and his conceptualisation of scenic space could have benefited from experimentation in the cinema at the time. Meyerhold's student Eisenstein carried many of his ideas onto the screen. Craig's background could never allow him to make the leap from theatre to cinema.

Another influential theatrical figure of the time who appears in the pages of *The Mask* is Max Reinhardt. Craig's main accusation against Reinhardt again is his lack of originality. This time he considers himself to be the originator of most of the ideas Reinhardt brought to the stage. This is partly true. Craig had been

experimenting in the same field and in similar style before Reinhardt worked on his successful productions. It is also true that after 1910-12, these ideas were simply 'in the air' as part of the general cultural and artistic consciousness of Europe of the age. Nevertheless most of the articles on Reinhardt in *The Mask*, either signed by Craig himself or by his collaborators, are strikingly bitter and at times very aggressive. John Semar, Craig's editorial mask, writes in a review on a book entitled *The Theatre of Max Reinhardt* by Huntly Carter:

> By the way, it is worth noting that, while the book takes its name from Professor Reinhardt, we find on no less than 46 pages that the centre of interest is Mr. Gordon Craig and his work... Surely too significant a straw for either Germans or Britons in doubt which way the wind blows.[46]

The author of the book replies to Semar in an apologetic manner and adds that, in the meantime, he had revised the book to acknowledge Craig's influence on the European scene. He explains:

> However I completed the book and added some 40 illustrations and a number of charts... very important ones forming synthetic summaries and some of them showing at glance your *position* and your *influence* on the European theatre.[47]

Reinhardt is presented in *The Mask* mainly in an attempt to 'get the facts right' and establish 'who came first'. In a review of Reinhardt's production of *Sumurum* Craig writes:

> Of course the production is as Mr. Paul Konody, writing in the Daily Mail, rightly points out, 'merely the latest development of the stage reform initiated by Mr. Gordon Craig'. This is a fact which will naturally increase the pleasure of the public since Mr. Craig is an Englishman.[48]

As was the case with The Russian Ballet, Craig's criticisms become extra sharp when foreign companies prove to be successful in his country. In 1927 there is a comprehensive article on the Reinhardt company and its history by Antonio Galli. Again the importance of Craig is assessed. Reinhardt is praised for his organisational skills, for his ability to adapt ideas, for his professionalism, but not for originality of ideas. The company is referred to as a firm and a business:

> But still this firm has no IDEA of its own: borrowed notions or notions bought and paid for is the most it ever has to offer. As perhaps will be seen more clearly if the accompanying designs are looked at curiously.[49]

The author of the article continues by stressing the significance of Craig in the new movement. 'What Craig dreams Reinhardt practises' quotes Galli and answers this accusation by stating that 'Craig began by *doing* the thing in 1900 before anyone else, and damme if he isn't called theorist.' Galli touches upon one of the main criticisms against Craig. His work, conceived in Romantic aspiration, was almost impossible to realise practically. The process of creation is somehow not artistic enough to occupy him. His attack on Reinhardt brings to the surface another aspect of Craig's work that impeded the fulfilment of his ideas. Craig could only work alone. The artistic creation had to be the result of a single consciousness. Reinhardt is severely criticised for working with a group as an ensemble. 'His second talent is an astounding capacity to listen to suggestions and to pick up ideas from other people, and apply them'[50], says the article. Craig could not possibly do this as it was against his notion of the

artistic genius. Count Kessler tried to engage Craig in working with Reinhardt but, the project fell through. Later Craig regretted not having worked with Reinhardt. Kessler writes in his diary:

> He expressed regret that he and Reinhardt never collaborated: Reinhardt, precisely because the differences between them are so great that they would complement each other, is the only producer with whom he could have worked. Stanislavsky, the Russians as a whole, and the Americans as well, are impossible. 'I don't want to have anything to do with Russians or Americans. I cannot abide them.' Reinhardt, he went on, has the hard-headed commonsense which he himself lacks.[51]

Craig's imaginary collaboration with Reinhardt is still biased. There is a huge division in the kind of work the two men will do. Reinhardt is seen as the organizer, the practical man, whom Craig can use to realise his ideas. The responsibility for artistic creation still falls upon Craig. The two directors would probably have worked successfully, if it hadn't been for personal differences. Theoretically Craig is much closer to Reinhardt than he ever was to Stanislavsky.

The Mask seems oblivious to all the other movements in Germany at the time. It is mainly because they derive from a very different ideological background. The Expressionist and later Bauhaus theatres of the Weimar Republic do not interest him at all. They represent the materialistic school of Modernism. Their art was seen as part of a more general historical process. At the same time, they were highly experimental with the nature of their medium as well. Political commitment did not exclude formal experimentation, and indeed dictated it. This was the climate that bred perhaps the most representative figure of this school of Modernism: Bertolt Brecht.

Even though it is surprising that Weimar receives no attention whatsoever in *The Mask*, it is, nevertheless, in line with the journal's overall theoretical context. Craig was certainly aware of the happenings in Weimar and particularly in theatre. He was a personal friend of Count Kessler. This friendship is difficult to understand, as the ideologies of the two men could not be more conflicting. Count Kessler was known as 'the red Count', and he was the main patron of the leftist artistic movements in Weimar. Yet he was the first man who invited Craig to work in Germany. Kessler was interested in publishing Craig's designs for *Hamlet* (the Moscow production) on his newly formed Cranach Press. The two men kept in touch and visited each other frequently. Kessler remains Craig's friend and firm supporter of his work, even though he is aware of their differences. Kessler sees Craig as an eccentric Romantic. He describes Craig's life-style on one of his visits to Florence in 1922:

> Light and spare, dedicated with almost religious fervour to a single purpose in life, the rooms are like monastic cells. I cannot help feeling that this single-mindedness is, in our age, somewhat childish. It was like paying a visit to a nursery, particularly when Mrs Craig and the son Teddy suddenly came out with some bloodthirsty Fascist opinions.[52]

Kessler was a dear friend of Craig's and his criticisms are not ill intended. He manages to point out what is possibly the source of many of Craig's agonies and frustrations. He belonged to another age. He never properly became part of the 'modern' world. In Kessler's terms he never grew up. Despite his caution, Kessler still acknowledges Craig as the main inspiration for the developments in Modernist stagecraft. He writes:

It is close on tragic to see this undoubted genius, whose vision and ideas have for the past twenty years inspired the theatre the world over, from Russia via Germany and France to America, not exercising his gifts but living like an island exile while festival playhouses, international drama exhibitions, and revolutions in theatrical production still draw on his capital.[53]

Craig's ideological limitations kept him tied up in the late 1890s, while others could expand and formally systematize his initial ideas, utilizing Modernist method and ideology.

Literary movements are conspicuously absent from *The Mask* as well. Craig's insistence on a non-literary theatre, that would be the creation of the director and not the playwright, led him to totally discard the literary aspect of Modernism. In an attempt to secure his own artistic integrity he was indifferent to Modernist developments in literature. One of the few literary figures that appeared regularly in *The Mask* was W.B. Yeats. Also Yeats was one of those rare people whom Craig openly admired and respected. His use of the mask as a metaphor for the role of the artist, and his conception of theatre as a paradigm for art, were notions that sounded very Craigian indeed. Craig worked with Yeats in the Abbey Theatre. He writes in *The Mask*:

January 12th was a memorable occasion in the history of the Abbey Theatre... in the history of the modern theatre as a whole, being the occasion of the first public use of the new scene for the poetic drama conceived, constructed and patented by Mr. Gordon Craig... The method of decoration employed for the two former was invented by Mr. Craig and used by him for the famous Art Theatre in Moscow.[54]

Yeats contibutes many theoretical articles in *The Mask*[55] on theatre. Craig considers him to be the only worth-while director in 'England'. In a prologue to an article explaining the impossibility of work for conscientious directors in England, John Semar writes:

The only man we know of working today as a director of a theatre in whose conscience is his armour and not his pyjamas is W.B. Yeats.[56]

He stresses the fact that this is true of England and adds: 'Lest this be misunderstood let us hasten to remind our readers that Mr. Gordon Craig is at work in Paris, Mr. Allen Carric is in Persia and John Balance in Krakow'[57]. Craig would seem quite generous here, acknowledging other directors, if it weren't for the fact that all the names he mentions are pseudonyms for himself. Given this egotism it is surprising he acknowledges Yeats as a theatrical person at all. In the same issue (1912) Yeats's *The Hour Glass* appears with positive commentary.

Despite his general acceptance of Yeats, Craig does not spare him a bitter attack when he believes that Yeats is taking over ground that he considers his own. In his review of Yeats's *Plays and Controversies* he writes in *The Mask* in 1924, after his close collaboration with Yeats had long ended.

I cannot pretend to admire Mr. Yeats when he assumes the virtue of knowing all about the Theatre, for he is no better a dramatic poet for his little stage theories. If he only could laugh heartily at himself when he has put forth some thrilling.... (and often incorrect) statement about the playhouse and its people. His power over magical words no one can be slow to acknowledge. This poet has suffered in having been born in a century when we had no Theatre to put at the service of the poets.[58]

Yeats and Craig are in many ways parallel figures. What Yeats was for literary Modernism, Craig was for Modernism in the theatre. Both men were rooted in Romanticism and never quite came to terms with their Modernity. Yeats's Irishness was as significant as Craig's

Englishness. Both men shared a love/hate relationship with their inheritance, and never quite managed to break away from it.

Craig's relationship with Modernism, as it was articulated mainly in Europe, was one of tension. He never managed to appropriate the purely 'modern' developments in his art, for he was not theoretically equipped to do so. Many of the Modernist trends in theatre (Constructivism, the Bauhaus and even the application of cinema techniques) are foreshadowed in the work of Craig. Nevertheless, he could not see them as a solution to many of the 'dead ends' that his experimentation led to. Craig's work represents that brand of Idealistic Modernism which, in looking backwards - almost invariably to Romanticism - for its inspiration and ideology, misses Modernity altogether and becomes trapped within its own discourse.

CHAPTER IV

'THE ARTIST OF THE THEATRE': FROM THE STAGE MANAGER TO THE 'MODERN DIRECTOR'

4.1. *The Mask* as a Mouthpiece for Craig's 'Artist of the Theatre'.

The 'actor-manager', the 'producer', the 'stage designer', the 'stage manager', the 'manager', the 'artistic director' or simply the 'director' are all terms which Craig uses throughout *The Mask*, constantly negotiating and re-defining his own role. All these terms and their historical significance for the theatre are filtered through and appropriated to Craig's notion of the 'Artist of the Theatre'. In articulating the role of such an artist, with a distinct identity and profession in the theatre, Craig uses *The Mask* as his main platform, since it provides him with the most constant and reliable stage from which he could voice his views.

Craig's 'Artist of the Theatre' would evolve into a master term, gradually encompassing and substituting all aspects of theatrical creativity. The actor, the designer, the actor-manager and finally the playwright himself would all be subservient to the all-powerful genius of the 'Artist of the Theatre'. Using quasi-religious phraseology, Craig then proceeds to determine and explictly describe the role of this artist. How this artist/director interacts with the literary text, with the actors, with the designer and every possible aspect of a performance are all issues taken up and explored in *The Mask*. The final goal seems to be that Craig's 'Artist of the Theatre' would be

the sole responsible agent, not only of the theatrical production, but of the 'Art of the Theatre' itself. For Craig, re-inventing the theatre meant, among other things, sketching out a new role for its artist.

This role, radical as it may seem, mainly in its insistence on viewing theatrical art as the result of a single creative will, had very precise historical precedents, and is rooted in the transitions and tensions that the English and European stage was undergoing towards the end of the nineteenth century. It is also in accordance with Craig's more general theories on aesthetics and the role of art in society. With Nietzschean/Wagnerian views on the totality of theatre and the autocracy of its artist as a theoretical framework, and within a historical context provided by the late nineteenth century English stage, Craig's artist/director can be seen as one of the first attempts to formulate a theory for the theatre that can account for the 'modern director', as the term is understood in the latter part of the twentieth century.

The Mask, more than his books, displays Craig's obsession with defining this role for the 'Artist of the Theatre'. In his theoretical works this role is, more or less, taken for granted and is talked about like other aspects of theatrical art. It is in *The Mask* that it is analysed and meticulously studied. This is due partly to the journalistic nature of the publication, which allows him to contrast and compare his ideas both to those of the past, and to those of his contemporaries. With its faithful stance towards the past, *The*

Mask provides a good historical perspective for the role of the artist/director; with its claim to Modernity it reveals how Craigian concepts compare with similar formulations on the continent on the theory of the director.

Looking back in search of models for his 'Artist of the Theatre', Craig almost always seeks inspiration from the grand theatres of the past. In the Classical Greek theatre he finds a prototype in the role of the *didaskalos (διδάσκαλος)* - poet/teacher of the chorus. Aeschylus would appear as the archetypal 'Artist of the Theatre' in Craigian terms; poet, choreographer and protagonist, Aeschylus, fulfils the total and absolute character of such an artist. It is interesting to note that, like most of his contemporaries who are establishing the role of the 'director', the theatres Craig finds most appealing are those that are intricately connected with their society at large. Classical Greek theatre, medieval liturgical drama and oriental theatre all have a religious/political role to play in their overall social context, relying on common beliefs and ideologies that provide the interpretive link. Yet paradoxically, in a way (as Helen Krich Chinoy writes in the history of stage direction which prefaces her anthology *Directors on Directing*) these forms of theatrical practice are those in least need of a 'directorial' figure:

> These perspectives basically distinguish the directorial activities of the antique poet from those of his modern counterpart. They took the place of the integrating interpretation to which the creative director today devotes his energies. The existence of accepted values and conventional modes of action in and out of the theatre made the director as a distinct craftsman unnecessary. His basic function is to supply these now-absent values for a segmented society by means of the unifying principles of synthesis and interpretation.'

The role of the director defined in this way is one that supplements the lack of the quasi-religious, sacred element in the theatre. This synthesizing and integrating directorial thread is interpreted in different ways by the various strands in Modernism. At one extreme the absence (or 'death' as Artaud was to claim later on) of ritual and magic in the modern world is supplemented by the Wagnerian notion of the *phantasmagoric*: the total and totalizing spectacle as the ultimate synthesizer. On the other, the grand theory is provided by a historical materialist view with social commitment and propaganda as its axes. The director appears as a prophet in the one school and as a revolutionary in the other. Craig and Meyerhold act as examples of the opposing trends that, nevertheless, share the ambition to secularize theatre. Later, the next generation of directors/theoreticians, namely Artaud and Brecht, will clearly articulate these differences.

4.2. The Actor-Manager Legacy / Henry Irving as Craig's Artistic Godfather.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century and round the beginning of the twentieth, the English stage was experiencing major changes. Throughout this period the various professions related to theatrical art were being re-shuffled and re-defined. Craig's career itself can be seen as a grand instance of this transition and polarisation of professions in the theatre. Bred in the actor-manager tradition as part of Henry Irving's Lyceum, he later turns to stage design and management, and finally formulates a theory that can account for the very distinct and distinguished role of the director.

In England, round the end of the nineteenth century, the actor-manager was responsible for the overall artistic stance of a production. He or she would choose the play, star in it, create the performance and also take on the business side of it. As commercial survival was essential, due to the lack of state subsidy and a National Theatre (something campaigned for since the time of Matthew Arnold) it was vital to feature renowned actors in leading roles, and in general to base the whole of the production on the attraction of a particular actor. Thus the actor-manager was a type of cult figure, on whom the whole production would focus.

As plays were being re-written, or written especially, to meet the needs of the actor-manager, the role of the playwright was diminished. Henry Arthur Jones writes in his preface to *Saints and Sinners* (1891):

> the present system in England of manufacturing plays to order and to exploit some leading performer... (was) quite sufficient to account for the literary degradation of the modern drama and for the just contempt with which it has been viewed by the intellect of the nation during the last twenty-five years.[2]

Artistically, the productions themselves were mostly excessively Romantic, based on a mixture of illusion and spectacle, rather than on the playwright's ideas. Theatrically, they were highly conventional and rarely challenged existing ideas on staging. In *The English Stage 1850-1950*, Lynton Hudson writes that the actor-manager:

> was giving or doing his best to give the public what it wanted; trying if possible to secure for himself a fortune by an astute flattery of

its prejudices and susceptibilities, pandering to its distaste for realism and its naive delight in the romantic and the spectacular, confining his aesthetic enthusiasms to the scenic illustration of his plays and the physical comfort of his audience.[3]

Conventional, conservative and centred round one luminous personality, the actor-manager system was accused of only performing proven authors, and not providing an atmosphere which would promote new dramatists and new writing for the theatre in general. William Archer is quite harsh on this system of production:

the actor-managers as a class do not make for progress. They lack insight and initiative. Partly from natural conservatism, partly from dread of the Old Critics, they shrink from every experiment, and will attempt no divergence from the beaten track. The reasons, the excuses for their timidity are plain enough, in the vast pecuniary interests at stake.[4]

To be fair, Archer is already influenced by movements on the continent when he fires his accusation. Very soon, the so called 'New Movement' in the theatre, which initially presented itself in the form of Naturalism, was to hit the English scene and, as expected, the actor-manager system would prove very resistant to it. (Although there were embryonic native precedents to the phenomenon).[5]

Despite its artistic conventionality and conservatism, the actor-manager system achieved much progress on a social level. Through its establishment as a theatrical body, it helped raise the social esteem and respectability of actors. As early as 1860, when the actress Marie Wilton and the author H.J. Byron bought the Queen's Theatre, known as 'the Dusthole' and transformed it into the highly respectable Prince of Wales Theatre, the actor-manager system was significantly changing

the social status of actors. The tranformation of this particular theatre serves to illustrate the social shifts of the period, regarding both actors and audiences. Theatre once again became fashionable and the audiences were mainly from the upper or middle classes. Structural changes in the theatres themselves and the raising of prices helped to further determine the social prestige of actors and audiences. Later, Marie Wilton was to marry Squire Bancroft, forming one of the most significant acting duos of the period. James Woodfield writes on the role played by the Bancrofts in bringing about these changes:

(they) took over the Haymarket Theatre and inaugurated some radical and far-reaching changes: the orchestra was hidden; the stage encased in a gilt picture-frame; the pit exiled to the back of the dress circle; the prices raised; and the performers paid handsome salaries.[6]

Possibly more than any other figure of the period, Henry Irving helped to raise the social esteem of actors and theatrical professions in general. He represented the new social status of the actor and the actor-manager system itself. This was confirmed when the Queen knighted him in 1895. Even so, old traditions die hard and Victorian morality was quite harsh on actors and especially actresses. Although changes were apparent, Victorian society was still reluctant to fully acknowledge the acting profession. James Woodfield writes:

Despite these improvements, the stigma on the profession persisted, and as late as 1900 it was still necessary for Irving to write an article vigorously refuting the view that the actor is 'so corrupted by the inherent immorality of his calling, and the vanity fostered in him by excessive adulation, that he is unfitted to hold social intercourse with respectable or intellectual people'.7

Henry Irving acts as the perfect paradigm for the actor-manager system. He portrays the essentially romantic figure, who enters the profession despite the danger of social degradation that such a gesture entailed. In turn, he socially upgraded his profession and helped re-establish the theatre amongst the socially acceptable art forms. Artistically, he created a sense of cohesion and continuity. Still holding to the notion that theatrical art is based on the ability and attraction of the central actor, he nevertheless helped crystallize and formalize the actor-manager system on both a managerial and artistic level, so it can be viewed as a specific school of theatre production. In this scheme of things it is perhaps important to mention the role of Bram Stoker as manager of the company. His activitites allowed Irving to be more in charge of the artistic aspects and signified an early separation of the two roles of actor-manager and manager proper. Despite Bram Stoker's presence Irving, nevertheless, officially assumed the role of the manager and epitomized the actor-manager system itself.

As far as actually articulating a theory for theatrical art, the actor-manager system, if anything, can be said to have formulated a theory for acting. Intentional or not, this is the main mark of the school. Having subjugated all other areas of theatrical art to the promotion of the leading actor, it inevitably leads to a theatrical theory that centres round acting. Again, Irving is the 'high' expression of this approach, with his intense character acting, using highly stylized and romanticised modes. At the other end of the spectrum, of course, this created a set of acting conventions that

could be easily parodied and mocked. As a rhymer observed in 1884 in the journal *Truth*:

The tailor-dummy school has had its day;
What we require is players who can play.
And 'twould be very silly to rely
On that which good stage-managers supply;
Fine scenery and perfect taste, in fact,
Won't take the place of actors who can't act;
The public will not pay to see a pack
Of padded noodles set in *bric-à-brac;*
Nor pardon actors when they wholly fail,
Because they sit in chairs by Chippendale.
No! They will not a feeble piece condone
Because good taste in mounting it is shown.[8]

Despite criticisms, Irving's approach to acting *was* systematic and adhered to a particular theory: that of interpreting the whole of a play based on the conceptualisation of the main character. This is very close to a purely expressionist view of acting, a view that sees the whole of a production as the projection or extension of the central character's psyche. In the case of the actor-manager system, of course, there is no doubt who the main character is and whose interpretative psyche is being projected, as director and leading actor are one and the same person, one and the same creative will. With the eventual separation of the director as a distinct creative unit, this particular approach poses problems. Craig would later attempt to solve these with his proposal of *monodrama* as a theory for interpretation and production (an example of which was his Moscow production of *Hamlet*)[9] , and the *Ubermarionette* as a model for acting.

Craig was very much aware of the fact that the actor-manager system and Irving in particular had left a theory for acting. In an

article in *The Mask* on Harley Granville-Barker, with whom Craig had an ambivalent relationship, one illustrated through the pages of *The Mask*, Craig wrote:

> Mr. Granville-Barker, not understanding Henry Irving, has lately been indiscreet in writing about him. He writes in an article upon 'Repertory Theatres' that 'the Irving idea was a very good idea...for Irving. But what is its legacy to us?' and then instead of waiting for an answer Mr. Barker with the nervousness of a Pilate goes on, 'to the public tradition of knighthood and social regard. To his art no school of playwrights, no school of acting'. Irving has left a school of acting. It was not his affair to leave a school of playwrights.'[10]

Irving and all he represented for Craig would play a significant role in the formulation of his own theories and especially in his notion of the 'Artist of the Theatre'. The actor-manager tradition would apparently be one of Craig's great taboos. Theoretically, he was part of the 'new movement', which abhorred the idea of the actor-star, being mainly concerned with formulating a total theory of the theatre and drawing out the role of the director. The English tradition had been chiefly interested in theories of the actor and the playwright. As Allardyce Nicoll writes:

> The English stage, from the times of Burbage and Shakespeare onwards has derived its strength from the words created by its dramatists and interpreted by its long line of distinguished actors and actresses.'[11]

This was definitely not fertile ground for Craigian ideas of theatricality. In this sense, he belongs to the more continental tradition of the director's theatre, which was developing at the time. His departure from England, though, did not necessarily divorce him from his background. Irving and the actor-manager system were Craig's

artistic god-fathers. Most of his theoretical axioms derive from the Irving/actor-manager context, rather than from the more modernist ideas on theatre that were being experimented with on the continent. Irving, despite their differences, remained a hero for Craig. Craig saw in him an expressionist, stylized actor and a good organizer. As was the case with Ellen Terry he was prepared to overlook the fact that he belonged to a literary 'leading-man' theatrical tradition.

4.3. Craig and the Naturalist Director: The English and Continental Schools

In 1881 the Meiningen company had visited London. It was to impress the London scene, and make its mark on the history of theatre production. The most striking aspect of this troupe was that it featured a post that was exclusively responsible for the *mise-en-scène*, held by the Duke of Saxe-Meiningen himself; more importantly, he was neither an actor nor a playwright and very significantly he was an autocrat (and he connects with a whole constellation of theatre-obsessed north-European princelings in the 18th and 19th centuries, notably Gustav III of Sweden and Ludwig II of Bavaria). Together with his assistant, Chronegk, who used to be a comic actor, they occupied positions that we today understand as stage-manager, producer and director.

The mode of the productions themselves was not totally foreign to English audiences. The Duke was mainly interested in historicist reconstructions of plays, based on archaeological evidence. Influenced

by the then current German school of historical realism, the productions focused on detailed realistic reconstructions. To English audiences, this was reminiscent of the Shakespeare revivals staged by Charles Kean in the 1850s. The Duke had acknowledged this influence, as he had seen Kean productions in London. Moreover, his own production of *The Merchant of Venice* in 1867 was based on the equivalent Kean staging of the play.[12] Authenticity and faithfu lness to the playwright and his period, as interpreted by late-Romantic criticism, seemed to be the trademarks of the Meiningen company. Designs were based on archaeological evidence and stage objects modelled on original museum pieces. Just as Kean published authentic designs in his programmes, the Duke would announce the historical credentials of his plays. Historical documentation became an artistic virtue that validated a production.[13]

What was to inaugurate the Duke as the forerunner of the modern director was his use of actors. Use is an apt term for, possibly for the first time (in spoken drama at least), the actor was viewed spatially, as a part of the overall scenic design. Almost invariably working with amateurs, the emphasis shifted from centralized star acting to ensemble acting, from character interpretations to the spatial interaction within the scene as a whole. Rather than basing a production on a particular role within the play, which was significant of the actor-manager style in production, the Duke proposed something new; the total visualisation of the whole *mise-en-scène*, outside the play, in the mind of the director. The Duke's notes provide a clear

example of the method he followed:

In the positioning of actors in relation to each other parallels are bad. If the placing of one single actor parallel to the footlights, in face-on position, is unfortunate, it is a positively ugly sight when two or more actors of about the same height take up such a stance. Movement of the actors parallel to the footlights should also be avoided. If, for instance, the actor has to move from downstage right to downstage left, then let him try discreetly and unobtrusively to break the straight line, which, on the stage, is never the best path. When there are three or more actors in one scene they should never stand in line. They must stand at an angle to one another. The distance between several actors must be different. If they all stand the same distance apart, this looks dull and lifeless, like figures on a chess board...
The height of the heads of those who stand next to one another in crowd scenes should be varied. Where appropriate the various individuals should stand on different levels; if the situation permits it, some can kneel, while others stand nearby, some bending forward, others standing upright.[14]

This strongly cinematic account makes us think that, had Meiningen worked 50 years later, he would probably have been filming large-scale, Griffith-style epics. The main point, though, is that the protagonist is often no longer a single actor, but the crowd. The Meiningen company became famous for its crowd scenes, whose only 'protagonist' was the 'director'. This approach was viewed with caution in London, as it went against the traditional modes of interpretation based on leading-character acting. One reviewer of the Meiningen's production of *Julius Caesar* wrote in *The Saturday Review* of June 1881:

The admirably drilled crowd has been much and justly praised, but in the earlier scenes it was used too freely. It was allowed to call off the attention of the audience from those who are carrying on the dramatic action of the tragedy. In the scene of Caesar's murder it almost hid the conspirators and was wholly out of place: none but senators should have seen the deed. Loafers women and children were not allowed to cover the floor of a Roman Curia.[15]

The Meiningen company heralded the end of the actor-manager system. With its emphasis on ensemble acting and on the power of the producer's vision of the *mise-en-scène*, it was 'the first of a new breed in the theatre'. Hence it is clear that Craig will have ambiguous feelings about it. In fact, *The Mask* acknowledges his debt to the Duke of Saxe-Meiningen, even though it theoretically clashes with his mentor Irving. Craig's formulations on a role for the director come from the combined influences of the Irving and the Meiningen schools. His 'Artist of the Theatre' is a Romantic Irving figure who no longer acts, but like the Duke is interested in mastering and manipulating the stage and everything on it from afar. He writes in *The Mask*:

> Sometimes an actor lives his whole life in the Theatre: Irving for example, sometimes a stage manager does - the Duke of Meiningen and Reinhardt are apt examples...
> The Art of the Theatre is not yet born say what we will; but that need not dispirit us. We shall get to it in time, but only if we remember that the play *is* the thing.[15]

Craig sees the artistic functions fulfilled by Irving, the Duke of Meiningen and Reinhardt, as fragmentary aspects of the total 'Artist of the Theatre'. His introduction of the slogan 'the play's the thing', in an attempt to establish an art-form indigenous to the theatre, gives unprecedented powers to the director. Nevertheless, the Meiningen company with its dynamic director and its non-naturalistic treatment of actors on the stage, provided a paradigm for Craig, worth following when formulating his own role.

Craig too had worked with amateurs in his early Purcell

productions: *Dido and Aeneas* (1899) and *The Masque of Love* (1901). Throughout his life he would praise the virtues of the amateur actor and always have great difficulty working with professionals. In a letter to the Editor (Semar), as late as 1925, Craig pays tribute to the amateur actor. His letter follows another which criticizes the appointment of Allardyce Nicoll as Professor of Drama:

> There are quite a few people who believe that Amateur actors can bring better times to the professional stage. But how? by becoming professional! then where's your amateur actor? I can understand, I believe, that the true *amatore d'arte, the lover of the arts*, the true connoisseur, can find a new path, by-path, lane, ... reduce its size and importance how you will... leading to some unknown little plateau higher up the mountain at whose base Theatrical Profession loves to dwell with its expert professional guides who now and again do climb to some purpose.[17]

Grand imagery apart, Craig enjoyed working with amateurs because, like the Duke of Saxe-Meiningen, he could objectify them and make them part of his scenic vision, with no interference on their part. Quite the opposite would happen when Craig attempted working with professional actors. The production of Ibsen's *Rosmersholm* for Eleonora Duse (1906) is characteristic of Craig's conception of the role of the actor and of the problems he had realising it. Isadora Duncan writes about that performance:

> Duse, with her marvellous instinct, had donned a gown of white, with great wide sleeves that fell at her sides. When she appeared, she looked less like Rebecca West than a Delphic sibyl. With her unerring genius she adapted herself to every great line and to each shaft of light which enveloped her. She changed all her gestures and movements. She moved in the scene like some prophetess announcing great things. But when the other actor came on - Rosmer, for instance, who put his hands in his pockets - they seemed like stage hands who had walked on by mistake. It was positively painful.[18]

It is the actor that has to adapt to the scene according to Craig. The whole *mise-en-scène* is visualised as an integrated whole, part of which is the actor; it does not exist to surround and heighten the actor himself. Duse, according to Duncan and probably Craig, responded to this need instinctively because she was a 'genius', whereas the same cannot be said of her colleague.

This particular production of Craig's has provoked conflicting accounts and studies. Duncan's may be said to be biased, since she and Craig were living through a passionate love affair at the time. Still, one can trace her attempt to cover the problematic areas of the production (especially since she had suggested it originally, and had introduced Craig to Duse). Lee Simonson, however, is not so subtle in his attacks on Craig's production of *Rosmersholm*. He accuses Craig of totally ignoring Duse as a creative force, and creating a stage design that bore no relationship to the development of the play. He writes:

> There is of course no reason why Rosmer's home should not be abstractly and mystically conceived. But there is every reason why a mystic and abstract setting should be related to the kind of performance that is to take place within it.[19]

The main issues raised in this accusation refer to how the production relates to the play as literature and how that particular view of production accounts for a theory of acting. Simonson touches upon one of Craig's problematic areas in criticising his production of *Rosmersholm* for not directing the actors to perform according to the set. Having subjugated the role of the actor theoretically with his *Ubermarionette*, he has no role for him as flesh and blood.

It will be argued that most of Craig's theoretical Gordian knots derive from the fact that he combines two conflicting traditions and tries to remain faithful to them both. On the one hand, the Irving/actor manager legacy, which sees the role of theatre production as the projection of the main actor through the mode of character acting; on the other hand, the tradition initiated by the Meiningen company, which views theatrical art in general as the creation of a single authoritative director, and every other aspect of production as subordinate. And it is the tension between the old school and the new that not only triggers many of Craig's contradictions, but also breeds his creativity.

The actor-manager system itself was under threat with the advent of Naturalism. Proclaiming itself essentially as a theatre of ideas, with Zola as its main theorist, Naturalism was initially heralded as a *playwrights' theatre*. At the same time, it consciously set up a new set of theatrical conventions, against those of the old school, giving rise to the producer/director as an autonomous figure in the theatre. The actor-managers themselves were seen as an old conservative institution which had run its course. Nevertheless, they represented formidable opposition against Naturalism. The distinction between the 'old school' and the 'new movement' was very clear indeed and was publicly focused on two figures as representative of the different trends - Henry Irving from the old school and G.B. Shaw from the new; typical of the English tradition, one an actor and the other a playwright. Craig's attacks on Naturalism, like other aspects of his work, would mostly derive from his Irving inheritance.

More and more European companies were occupying the London stages and helping to spread the 'new drama'. In 1889, the Théâtre Libre under the direction of Antoine visited London. Their presence caused some commotion, mainly due to their repertoire and their mode of production. The three productions they presented, including an adaptation of a Zola story were typical of Antoine's Naturalistic style. The first, *The Duke of Enghien*, although historical, bore no resemblance to the Meiningen *grands spectacles*. As William Archer wrote: 'It is an attempt to put an historic episode on the stage in its unvarnished simplicity, without any involution of plot or analysis of motive.'[20] Perhaps more characteristic of Antoine's Naturalism were the one-act plays. With their accounts of Parisian low-life and of domestic bliss being threatened they coined the term *quart d'heure*, the *slice of life* one-act, that would be the mark of Naturalism. These plays demanded photographic settings, low-key acting and an intimate atmosphere in general. To achieve the illusion of the real, Antoine abolished the foot-lights, and completely lowered the house-lights during performances. The critical response to the Théâtre Libre was not altogether favourable. *The Times* described Antoine's theatre as 'the happy hunting ground of the ultra-realistic or fin-de-siècle dramatist who specially affects the horrible and the revolting'.[21]

While in London, Antoine saw Irving's production of *Hamlet*. He made no comment on Ellen Terry and was not impressed by Irving himself. Naturally, his and Irving's notions on theatre were poles apart. Nevertheless, he was impressed by the setting and, in

particular, the lighting effects which seemed to him beyond the dreams of the Parisian stage.[22]

The Théâtre Libre officially introduced Naturalism to the English stage. More than the Meiningen company it firmly established a new role for the theatre profession: that of the director. The actor-manager system was fading away, and gradually London demanded the formation of an Independent Theatre along the lines of the Théâtre Libre. Such a theatre was formed in 1891 by J.T. Grein and like its continental predecessor it too promoted the 'new drama' by playwrights such as Ibsen, Strindberg and Shaw.

With its commitment to promoting plays by new dramatists, Naturalism re-established the power of the playwright in the theatre. His role had been diminished by the actor-manager, who had the liberty to order plays to be written or to re-write them according to his needs. At the same time, Naturalism's theory of performance, with its emphasis on detailed realistic portrayal and psychological acting, needed an overall artistic director. As a distinct school of drama, therefore, Naturalism promoted two authors: the playwright as the writer of the drama, and the director as the author of the performance. In an interview he gave while in London, Antoine supports the claim that Naturalism was as much a *playwright's theatre* as it was a *director's theatre*:

> The aim of the Théâtre Libre is to encourage every writer to write for the stage, and, above all, to write what he feels inclined to write and not what he thinks a manager will produce. I produce anything in which there is a grain of merit, quite irrespective of any opinion I

may form of what the public will think of it, and anything a known writer brings me, and exactly as he hands it to me. If he writes a monologue of half-a-dozen pages, the actor must speak those half-dozen pages word for word. His business is to write the play: mine to have it acted.[23]

It is not surprising that Craig found a lot to object to in all this. His vehement attacks against Naturalism are fired against this principle of the *playwright's theatre*. Nevertheless, he cannot fail to acknowledge the fact that his own role as 'Artist of the Theatre' owes much to the Naturalist tradition from an organizational if not philosophical point of view. In a review article in *The Mask* he writes of Antoine and the Théâtre Libre:

if ever any man took his hat off in grave and significant salutation to another, it is I at this moment who take off my hat to M. André Antoine.[24]

Of course, by 1927, when this article was written, almost 30 years had passed since Antoine's first appearance on the English scene. Much of the controversy surrounding Naturalism had calmed down and the movement itself was mostly mainstream. In the same article Craig presents quite a sophisticated analysis of Antoine and his work, admitting that he had himself been present at a rehearsal of his a few years earlier. In a manner quite untypically Craigian he even seems to come to terms with Antoine's Naturalism. He writes:

It is customary to think of him as of a man profoundly convinced of the importance of realism and the gloomy ways of low life. And I should imagine that he was nothing of the kind. I should say that every good play was welcomed by Antoine. He happened to light up Ibsen's *Ghosts* and Zola's plays, and the plays of the other gloomy gentlemen, but then he also happened to throw light upon the plays of Shakespeare and those of Molière and Shakespeare have stood by him very faithfully.[25]

Antoine's production of *Ghosts* dates from as early as 1890; and it is the same play, produced in London in 1891 by the Independent Theatre, that *The Times* described as stemming from 'the lugubrious and malodorous world of Ibsen'. Gone is the shock effect and the *succés de scandale* that initially surrounded the play. What seems to matter for Craig in 1927 is the director's ability to 'light up' a play, his absolute right to interpret and produce according to his own vision of the play and his own concept of theatre. This right was first asserted by Naturalism and Craig is not ignorant of this. He continues to praise Antoine, even though it may seem blasphemous to his artistic father Irving.

There is, however, one additional aspect of the Naturalist director that does not cohere with Craigian notions of the artist. In terms of its ideology, Naturalism aspired towards democracy. It appeared at the time of the gradual democratisation of Europe and Britain. With its emphasis on environment and its inherent behavioural determinism, it tried to formulate a theory for art and the artist that would make both socially and historically accountable. As Adorno says, it tried to 'de-fetishize' art, and assimilate it as part of the society within which it functioned. Philosophically limited to empirical positivism, it lacked the grand theory that could eventually account for every aspect of human behaviour, and in its extreme it appeared as crude determinism. Nevertheless, it helped de-romanticize the role of the artist. The director appeared as an essentially democratic figure that would co-ordinate other aspects of theatrical

art. Initially he would work with the playwright, as was the case with Stanislavsky and Chekhov, Granville-Barker and G.B. Shaw. His aim would be to remain as faithful as possible to the playwright and at the same time to acknowledge those aspects of dramatic art that are particular to the stage. The emphasis would gradually shift, and the director's view of the play would dominate over the playwright's (see Stanislavsky's quarrels with Chekhov)[26]. Politically and philosophically Naturalism formulated a theory for the artist that was basically democratic. As a school it consciously defined itself against idealist Romantic notions of the artist. Art is no longer seen as an intuitive metaphysical process; the artist is no longer a priest or cult figure. At the time it was revolutionary and in this sense it was the first of the modern movements. As Craig's ideas of the artist were conceived and shaped according to the old school, and filtered through the idealistic models proposed by Nietzsche and Wagner, naturally the two would clash. For all his acceptance of Antoine, he still discerns their different backgrounds. Comparing the image of the old artist with that of the new (an example of which is Antoine), he writes:

The difference of the two is this. In the old days these men would not rest (could not rest) unless they had sought out the man who had given them this particular inspiration , and, when they saw him, they did their best to stay with him and follow him. Thus it came about that every great warrior, every great priest, and a very great artist had his followers; not merely enthusiastic idiots, but very useful loyal assistants... But today what happens? A young man having seen Antoine's performance, or after reading of the work of some other theatrical artist, will have a momentary thrill, but will it be only momentary. After two or three days, for some reason, he will tell himself that he too can do as that man has done; and, instead of learning, instead of becoming slowly a master and with a master, he engages a company of actors like the master, runs a number of wealthy

men into bankruptcy court, and thinks he is of service to his country.[27]

According to the old school, the process of becoming an artist is viewed as an apprenticeship next to a master. The new movement instead has substituted the awe of the master by creating a specific school. As such it can be taught and learnt. It is true that the Théâtre Libre inspired many imitators (the Indpendent Theatre being one of them; perhaps the one that Craig alludes to above), but that was part of its role. Movements create schools and schools breed followers. For Craig, art and the artist are unique. No great artist could consciously be part of a movement; his greatness lies in his 'otherness'. The only modern theory that can account for such an image of the artist is Fascism. Craig proposes such a theory, that would solve Antoine's problem of having 'imitators' instead of 'faithful followers':

(his believers) should have made a little more effort to stand by him and show a little more of that old spirit, which let us call by the new name of the Fascist spirit. Fascism is not easy to define, but what is perfectly easy to see is that the Fascisti are men who work shoulder to shoulder, with mind to mind , and follow a leader. I do not care a rap what can be said against them.[28]

As far as the role of the director is concerned, Craig sees a definite advancement through Naturalism, despite his theoretical disagreements with the school. Meanwhile, on the continent, Naturalism itself was breeding a new generation of directors who, having gained artistic status through the movement, grew to become critical of it and in this respect had something to offer Craig. Rather than seeking inspiration from Zola and the new scientific method, these artists, were influenced by Wagner's idea of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* and the Symbolist

movement in the arts and literature of the period (Paul Verlaine, Jean Moreas, Paul Gauguin, Maurice Maeterlinck). Faithful to the principle of Synaesthesia, this odd child of Naturalism opened new horizons for experimentation on the stage. In reaction to the detailed Naturalism of Antoine's Théâtre Libre, many small companies were formed in Paris and other capitals of Europe. These mainly consisted of amateurs and centred round one artistic director, who was responsible for the *mise-en-scène*. One of the most important was the Théâtre d'Art, founded by the seventeen-year old poet Paul Fort in 1890. The company stayed together for two years and staged around 10 productions. With its claim to become 'absolutely Symbolist', as Fort announced, the was to establish the importance of the stage designer as a force in theatre production. The staging of *The Girl with the Several Hands* by Pierre Quillard in 1891 proved an exercise in Symbolist staging. Quillard sub-titled the play as 'a mystery in two tableaux'. The acting was mostly choral recitation and stylized gesture. What was to be the most significant aspect of this production, however, was the stage design. This challenged the whole Naturalist tradition and was proposing its own aesthetic of the stage. In a letter entitled 'On the absolute pointlessness of accurate staging' to *La Revue d'Art Dramatique* Pierre Quillard wrote:

> Naturalism, that is to say the representation of a particular incident, a trivial and accidental document, is the very contradiction of theatre... (the stage must be) a pure ornamental fiction that creates the illusion by virtue of the analogies with the drama suggested by the lines and colours.[29]

For Pierre Quillard the theatre was 'the pretext for a dream'. Viewing production spatially and visually, rather than psychologically and literally, would help evoke this dream state (Craig's comment on his production of *Rosmersholm* for Duse echoes Quillard's statement: 'to produce a beautiful play for Madame Eleonora Duse ... it is Ibsen's *Rosmersholm* and it shall be made into a dream - a dream - DREAM')[30]

The design for *The Girl with Several Hands*, which caused all the commotion and brought the stage designer to the foreground as a new incarnation of the artist of the theatre, was the work of Paul Serusier. This would start a tradition of visual artists collaborating with directors and presenting symbolist presentations of plays - a tradition that would soon reach its peak in another medium with Diaghilev's challenging commissions of decors for ballet from avant-garde artists. The stage designer would be a crucial component of the Théâtre de l'Oeuvre, founded in 1893 by Lugné-Poe. Like Craig, Lugné-Poe had previously been an actor with the . The Théâtre de l'Oeuvre was to be the main exponent of the Symbolist theatre that appeared on the London stage[31]. In March 1895 it presented *The Master Builder* and *Rosmersholm*, together with a one-act tragedy by the young Belgian poet Maurice Maeterlinck called *Intérieur*. It is likely that Craig saw these productions, as his own production of *Rosmersholm*, almost 10 years later, still shows signs of Lugné-Poe's influence. Directly or not, the Lugné-Poe productions definitely foreshadowed the work of Craig. In collaboration with Maeterlinck, Lugné-Poe staged puppet plays and advocated the replacement of the actor by the marionette on

the stage. In 1890 Maeterlinck wrote in *La Jeune Belgique*:

> The staging of a masterpiece with the help of human and unpredictable elements is a contradiction. Every masterpiece is a symbol and the symbol will not tolerate the active presence of man ... The absence of man seems to me unavoidable.[32]

Craig's argument in his essay *The Actor and the Ubermarionette* reads almost like a rephrasing of Maeterlinck's statement. Lugné-Poe himself wrote that 'the greatest virtue of the actor will be to efface himself'[33]. Again Lugné-Poe mouths one of Craig's favorite aphorisms - Duse's 'To save the Theatre the Theatre must be destroyed, the actors and actresses must all die of the plague... They make art impossible'.[34]

With its Symbolist conception of scenic space, the Théâtre de l'Oeuvre highlighted the figure of the stage designer as prominent artistic component of theatre production. Lugné-Poe's productions became renowned for their stage designs. He consistently commissioned painters to design his sets; Toulouse-Lautrec designed the Indian play *The Terra-cotta Cart* in 1895, and Eduard Munch designed *John Gabriel Borkman* in 1897. And it is significant that the stage designer would be the persona for his 'Artist of the Theatre' that Craig mostly worked under. Indeed, a superficial reading of Craig's term might lead to the conclusion that it means no more than that: the elevation of the stage designer to fill the role of the all-dominant director. It is essential for Craig's 'Artist of the Theatre' to master stage design, but actually that in itself is not sufficient, as he explains.

Nevertheless, for Craig, a stage designer background is the most desirable for work in the theatre.

Like Craig, Lugné-Poe gradually moved towards more permanent scenes. After three or four years of experimentation, he decided to use the same setting for each production of the same playwright, so that Ibsen would be performed using the same set, whatever the play. As a concept this is strikingly similar to Craig's notion of the permanent scene: his screens. With the use of screens to organize the stage spatially, Craig hoped to solve the problem of stage design. The same screens could ideally be used for any production, by simply rearranging them.

By emphasising the visual and the symbolic on the stage, Lugné-Poe and the Symbolist Theatre, in general, created a space that was indigenous to the theatre, separating it from literature. As they claimed, this space originally belonged to the theatre; as paradigms they used the classical theatres of Greece, of the Orient and Medieval mystery plays. Lugné-Poe's vision of the director was very different from Antoine's. The Symbolist director was not as committed to the playwright, but on the contrary, he announced his own rights as the absolute creator of the *mise-en-scène*. The Symbolist theatre made no public declarations of its fidelity to the playwright, but often clashed with playwrights, who disagreed with particular stagings of their plays. Lugné-Poe received Ibsen's disapproval and criticism several times for his productions[95]. Gone were Antoine's modest claims of faithfulness and cooperation; with the Symbolist movement the

theatre once again became a totally open space, and the director emerged as its master.

Craig is very much aware of Lugné-Poe's work. In *The Mask*, in 1913, he comments on Lugné-Poe's production of *Hamlet* with his wife Suzanne Despres in the leading role. Even though Craig disapproves of this, he nevertheless voices his support for Lugné-Poe as representative of the new breed in the theatre:

> The stage has been faulty, guilty of many sins, but seldom has it played the prig, and to regret that a stage-manager, a true son of the theatre should attempt to put his own house in order is priggish. It is good fortune, not bad fortune that the sons of the stage are now claiming their own.[36]

The Théâtre de l'Oeuvre created the image of the director who is completely in control of every aspect of production[37]. He not only translates the play from text to stage, but he is entitled to, and indeed must re-write it, according to the requirements specific to the art of the stage. With its emphasis on scene design, the Symbolist movement's conception of the 'Artist of the Theatre' is parallel to Craig's. Its conviction that the stage belongs to the director and not the playwright is taken up by Craig a few years later, and is the main principle on which he builds his role. This role is constantly defined and defended through the pages of *The Mask*. He writes in the opening page of the 1924 issue:

> It has been rather aggressively asserted that scenic artists have had or claimed rather too much attention for their work.
>
> It is one of the now rather famous misrepresentations made about *The Mask*, that it utterly disregards the play and the playwriter. *The Mask* has a duty to perform , and part of this certainly is to respect and

consider with pride the work of the best dramatists; but its greater duty is to see that other work and other workmen are not pushed aside, though of course for these other workers the nice fat incomes which many a more admirable, pushful and topical playwriter has assured of himself.[38]

In the meantime, Naturalism was developing in London as a very distinct trend, inspiring new writing for the theatre and triggering the formation of new companies dedicated to the 'new movement'. Harley Granville-Barker can be considered to be the English representative of the Naturalist director. Like Antoine, he was dedicated to a *playwright's* theatre and worked very closely with G.B. Shaw in the production of his plays. His connection with the more conventional theatrical tradition through his productions of Shakespeare make him an interesting figure to compare with Craig. Harley Granville-Barker appears throughout *The Mask*, featuring almost across the whole spectrum of its 15 volumes[39]. Craig's attitude towards Barker is ambivalent - at times he appears supportive, but in other instances he fiercely attacks him. This stance of Craig's can be seen as an extension of his ambiguous relationship with both the English tradition and the continental one. His faithfulness to Irving and the 'old school' urges him to attack figures like Barker, seeing them as representatives of the 'new movement'. At the same time, he cannot fail to acknowledge that this same 'new movement' helped to establish the role of the director. Having left England mainly because he thought it was not fertile ground for his ideas, he suddenly sees the phenomemon of the director spring up where he least expects it: in his homeland; so there remained very little he could claim genuinely new and his own. Had Craig belonged to one particular tradition, either

English or continental, old or new, much of his theoretical angst, which derives from trying to reconcile the two, could have been avoided. As it is, though, it constitutes one of the main driving forces in his work. His attitude towards Barker is characteristic of this permanent tension.

Like Craig, Barker[40] was introduced to the stage by his actress mother Mary Elisabeth Bozzi-Granville. (And to draw a further analogy between the two men he too had an architect father). Early in his career as an actor he got involved with the Stage Society, but he became renowned as a producer initially with his period at the Royal Court (1904-1907). *The Green Room Book* for 1907 wrote:

The Court has become the Mecca of every serious playgoer. Without starting out to be a *repertoire* theatre, it is fast becoming a theatre with a *repertoire*. It is giving young and previously untried dramatists a chance hitherto denied them, for not only are new plays produced, but they are produced under the most favourable conditions - with admirable casts and stage management equal to the best ever seen in London. And while the Court is encouraging the new or rising dramatist, it is creating a school of acting.[41]

Craig recognizes Barker as representative of a new era for the English stage. He sees his work as parallel to similar achievements on the continent. He mentions Barker in the very first issue of *The Mask*:

That Mr Granville-Barker's stand against this system should not have received national, or at least strong personal, support from capitalists keen on doing some good with their wealth, is not merely surprising but entirely and disastrously shameful. If Mr. Barker's attitude had been very extreme, one could have understood this; or if his scheme had included a revival of the entire Art of the Theatre, or had been in any way a specially artistic movement, we would understand that the gravity of the offence demanded a stern treatment of cold water; but it was merely a sensible and very plucky attempt to raise the English Theatre to the level of the Continental Theatre.[42]

Craig states his artistic differences with Barker, in a manner that still remains respectful and acknowledging of Barker's achievements. Barker's chief contribution to the English stage was that he created a distinct space for the role of the producer (and it is mainly on this role that Craig concentrates at times ignoring his work as actor, manager, critic and playwright). Doing this broadly within the context of Naturalism, Barker's theatre promoted the new dramatists. Craig does not appear to be as sympathetic regarding this matter, especially since the dramatist Barker collaborated with was G.B. Shaw. In attacking the Barker company for promoting a *playwright's theatre*, Craig could still remain faithful to Irving and the actor-manager system. At the same time, he was accepting the changes that referred to his own role in the theatre. He could easily identify and sympathise with all that Barker stood for. The same is not true of his relationship with G.B. Shaw. He saw the work of Granville-Barker as a contribution to his definition of the 'Artist of the Theatre'; Shaw's role, on the other hand, presented a model that could alternatively substitute his 'Artist'. Whenever he associates Barker with Shaw, he becomes much more critical:

> It is good news to hear through the *Daily Mail* that the 'Little Theatre' of London is about to become for a few weeks the home of the intellectual Drama, but it is a bit disheartening to learn that the only people who can supply the intellectual Drama are Mr. Bernard Shaw, Mr. John Galsworthy and Mr. Granville-Barker. We suppose that T*he Daily Mail* wanted to say and didn't dare to was that the 'Little Theatre' is to be made for a few weeks the home of that demned(sic), dull, *discursive* Drama. Ah! that's quite another thing.[43]

G. B. Shaw stood for all that Craig loathed in the 'new movement'. Shaw re-assessed the role of the playwright for the English stage, and promoted a theatre that claimed to be socially and politically aware. For Craig, and indeed for the whole of the English scene, G. B. Shaw came to symbolize the new Naturalist Drama. Despite Shaw's fondness for other modes like pastiche, melodrama and parody, which make him Naturalist only up to a point, he was, nevertheless, seen as the most striking representative of the spirit of philosophical Naturalism. This was partly due to his political position, which was explicitly in line with the overall Naturalist ideology, rather than to the theatrical conventions he applied. Shaw was for the 'new movement' what Irving had been for the old. In attacking Shaw Craig feels theoretically justified as he is addressing him as a *playwright*, whose role he considers totally redundant in his own theory of the 'Theatre of the Future'. In doing so, he is also declaring his faithfulness to Irving and the old school. Craig's attack on G. B. Shaw, particularly in the first issues of *The Mask*, where he is determining his relationship with the tradition of his homeland, is very fierce indeed[44]. This stance is not one way, as Shaw voiced many a public accusation against Craig and his work. In a letter to Ellen Terry he criticized Craig's production of Ibsen's *The Vikings of Helgeland*. He accused him of 'matricide' for ruining his mother's role (Ellen Terry appeared in this production as Hjordis), and of 'treachery to the author' in sacrificing the play to:

> ... clear effects ... what he aimed at was so well done that he bowled over all the critics who have any artistic perception, and they have forgotten to tell him that his business was to bring out Ibsen's qualities and not his own. If he did that to a play of mine, I would sacrifice him on the prompter's table before his mother's eyes[45]

It is characteristic that Shaw attacks Craig on the basis of two key theoretical issues. Shaw's criticism of 'matricide' was based on the fact that Craig's staging of Ellen Terry did not allow the entire production to focus on one central star-character, even if it was his mother. This was Craig's first production with professional actors, and it is recorded that he actually had problems *directing* them as they 'demanded to know why he should choose to *interpret* Ibsen rather than merely execute his detailed stage directions'[46]. With this production, Craig was breaking from the actor-manager tradition and at the same time declaring his own right as the ultimate creator of the *mise-en-scène*, who owes nothing to the playwright, but merely uses the play as a pre-text for the development of his own ideas in the process of a production.

Craig seems to admire Barker in spite of his connections with Shaw. He did not consider him artistically threatening, as he was convinced that all he was doing was 'anglicizing' an existing continental tradition. His involvement with the National Theatre cause received Craig's support (even if Shaw was involved in it too). He writes in *The Mask* in a review of Barker's *The Exemplary Theatre:*

This very able, if rather difficult, book will be read by all true lovers of the Theatre and its Drama.. Mr. Barker is, and always has been, an orthodox idealist as regards the British stage. Se(sic) when we come to the end of this book we close it with a last and not quite forlorn hope, that, in spite of pride and reason, and with the aid of the Drama League, the British National Theatre, will soon come to be founded in London, and that Mr. Barker will be chosen to be the exemplary head.[47]

As representative of a particular profession in the theatre, Barker appears quite sympathetically in *The Mask*. Nevertheless, Craig did have his artistic differences with Barker, and used *The Mask* also to voice them whenever he had the chance. These differences seemed especially acute in instances where Barker would align with directors of the 'new movement' on the continent. Barker's admiration for the work of Reinhardt, for example, was bitterly attacked by Craig:

> We want to see as stage directors men of conviction - men with methods of their own... We want to see Barker wash his hands and become himself. His parodies of other men's ideas are out of place, worthless and feminine... Mr. Barker has lately called Mr. Hamilton Fyfe's attack on Professor Reinhardt a *cowardly* attack. Mr. Barker's 'productions' are not exactly manly; a man knows his own mind; Mr. Barker seems not to. He echoes. He has no principles to guide his 'production', he just borrows a different method every new production.[48]

Using his pet aversion - femininity - Craig attacks Barker, in a manner that is typical of his own style, and also exemplary of the trend of Modernism he subscribes to. In an aesthetic that identifies the original and the new with the manly and the virile, influences and assimilations are not permitted (Pound's 'poetry speaks phallic direction' seems to be an appropriate slogan)[49]. As long as Barker remained an orthodox idealist, he presented no challenge for Craig. When he started to subsrcribe more consciously to movements hostile to Craig, he was no longer seen as the modest 'producer' of the English stage, but someone who presented a threat to the 'Artist of the Theatre'.

4.4. *The Mask* and Censorship.

Craig is shown up at his most curmudgeonly in connection with another area of dispute which grew out of the incursion of a challenging Naturalism: the campaign to abolish the Censor. Dramatic censorship in England dated back to 1543, when Henry VIII imposed an Act 'for the advancement of true religion and for the abolishment of the contrary'[50]. Towards the end of the 19th century, though, the institution itself seemed dated and there was rising opposition against it. Naturally, the main opposition was voiced by representatives of the 'new movement', as it was mainly their plays that were being censored. In March 1892 a Select Committee was appointed to inquire into the matter and propose any alterations in the law they considered necessary. Of that Committee E.F. Smythe Piggot, a name that would become famous due to G.B. Shaw's parodies of him, wrote in his final report:

> I have studied Ibsen's plays pretty carefully, and all the characters in Ibsen's plays appear to me morally deranged. All the heroines are dissatisfied spinsters who look on marriage as a monopoly, or dissatisfied married women in a chronic state of rebellion against not only the conditions which nature has imposed on their sex, but against all the duties and obligations of mothers and wives; and as for the men they are all rascals or imbeciles.[51]

In short, the new dramatists were considered morally degrading. The battle against the censor can again be seen as the struggle of the new movement to establish itself. With the support of critics like William Archer and playwrights like Shaw the campaign against censorship received much public attention, and occupied many pages in newspapers

and journals of the period. As censorship was connected to matters of licensing plays and leasing theatres, it not only involved playwrights, but managers as well. The actor-manager system was supportive of the censor, as it provided the security of a license that brought with it not only legal, but economic guarantee. At the same time, their stance for censorship marked their hostility towards the new drama. G. B. Shaw writes:

> ... the censorship, then, provides the manager, at the negligible premium of two guineas per play, with an effective insurance against the author getting him into trouble, and a complete relief from all conscientious responsibility for the character of the entertainment at the theatre.[52]

Henry Irving was again the symbol of the traditional and conservative, while Shaw stood for the new and progressive. The theatre profession was once again divided, as the playwrights wanted the freedom to express their ideas while the actor-managers saw this as another fight to maintain their status. Meanwhile figures like Granville-Barker, who was an actor, a manager and a playwright - an example of 'the new breed in the theatre' - were vehemently against the censor. His production of *Waste* was banned in 1907, as he refused to make the changes the censor required.

Censorship is a major issue taken up by *The Mask*[53]. As one might expect from a man not over-fond of the naturalists and loathing Shaw, Craig is in favour of it, showing his loyalty to Irving and the tradition that bred him. His stance towards censorship, though, like his attitude towards Granville- Barker, is not very consistent. In his

attempt to separate himself from Naturalism, he sacrifices rights that he was claiming for himself as director, and indeed had exercised while he was still working in England. He writes of Granville-Barker and the censor:

> And yet it is his existence (the censor's) which is salutary... for more so than the occasional prohibitive measures he adopts, as when he finds it necessary to control Mr. Bernard Shaw's wayward fancy as to the names of the characters he wishes to bring upon the stage.
>
> Again, Mr. Barker felt himself aggrieved because in accepting a play recently for performance in his theatre he had to make the acceptance conditional upon the approval of the Censor.
>
> It grieves us not to find ourselves entirely in sympathy with Mr. Barker, for whose work we have a sincere admiration.[54]

As ever, Craig is more sympathetic towards Barker than he is to Shaw. He presumably sees an aspect of himself in Barker, recognizing the director's right of absolute freedom on the stage, if not the playwright's. However Craig's support of the censor is contradictory, only starting once he had left England. While he was still living there, he had no scruples about defying him. His staging of Laurence Housman's *Bethlehem* was against the will of the censor. The play had not received a licence, and a 'Bethlehem Society' had to be formed in 1902 in order to stage it privately. Housman himself was one of the main spokespersons against censorship. At an Enquiry held in July 1909, which was mainly a battle between dramatists on the one side and actor-managers on the other, Housman submitted:

> that refusing to consider my play (*Bethlehem*) on account of its Scriptural character, and in subsequently licensing *Eager Heart*, *Hannele*, and *Samson and Delilah*, the Examiner of Play had done me a grave injustice; and that is the more gratuitous in that it is based,

not upon any Act of Parliament, but upon departmental traditions.[55]

While Housman was supporting his play, seven years after the event, Craig, who had actually produced it, was voicing his support for censorship through *The Mask*. Having banished the playwright altogether from his stage, or at least marginalised him, he conceived censorship as only affecting dramatists. In this framework he could remain faithful to the Irving tradition. He saw censorship as a safety valve against the excesses of Naturalism, and since, in his view, it only *really* applied to dramatists, he could publicly praise its virtues and still claim absolute authority for his 'Artist of the Theatre'.

4.5. Towards a Monodramatic Definition of the 'Artist of the Theatre'.

Together with all the conflicts and tensions that Naturalism brought with it to the English stage, it still managed to mould a distinct profession in the theatre. Due to the strong influence of the playwright and the resistance of the actor-manager tradition, figures like Barker, emerged as strong organizing producers, rather than artistically determining directors. Geared towards the actor and the literary aspects of the drama, the English tradition left very little room for experimentation in areas of theatricality. This is a tradition that Craig had to consciously divorce himself from. He was also aware that establishment of the producer was a definite step forward for the English stage. An article in *The Mask*, from 1924, entitled 'The Producer' by Lennox Robinson, not a pseudonym for once but a producer with the Abbey Theatre, outlines the different stages

his profession went through in order to achieve recognition:

> The producers of a previous generation, if they were important, were generally important for a different reason - perhaps they were actor-managers like Sir Henry Irving - but it was a little new, in spite of Mr. Gordon Craig's work, for someone who was neither actor nor manager to be elevated to a point of importance equalling, if not exceeding, any of these, and Mr. Barker rightly felt that we had to fight for recognition. The position is now won, the entity of the producer is recognized, and even people who are not very learned in theatrical matters will talk glibly of the 'productions' of Mr. Nigel Playfair, Mr. J. B. Fagan, and Mr. Basil Dean.[56]

Even in Robinson's scheme Craig is considered to be a striking exception. As far as the definition of his role is concerned, Craig belongs to the continental tradition. His 'Artist' was not merely the producer, but the all-powerful director. His predecessors were figures like the Duke of Saxe-Meiningen, Antoine and Lugné-Poe. He considered the English versions of the director as fulfilling purely managerial and organising posts; as such they presented no challenge to him. Craig was measuring himself against directors like Reinhardt and Stanislavsky. The English producer was still bound artistically by the playwright and the actor; he was not the sole author of a production. Robinson continues in his account:

> ... there is no producer in England whose work one would go and see, irrespective of the quality of the play produced, as one would go in Germany to see the work of Reinhardt. You look forward to 'The Way of the World' with an added pleasure when you learn that Mr. Nigel Playfair is responsible for its production, but you go more for Congreve's sake than for Mr. Playfair's, and Mr. Galsworthy attracts more than Mr. Dean.[57]

What Robinson is describing is definitely a *playwright's theatre* with a strong producer. In such a theatre, the producer's artistic domain

is arguably limited by the play and the playwright. Within this context, Craig feels free to attack the new English generation of producers. These attacks are twofold: on the one hand they are fired on behalf of the 'Theatre of the Future', as his theories further the artistic power of such producers, and on the other, they represent the 'Theatre of the Past', since the rise of the producer system signaled the fall of the actor-manager-Irving tradition. Again, Craig seems to accommodate conflicting approaches theoretically.

A few years before the Lennox Robinson article Craig, under the pseudonym of the editor John Semar, presents a piece in *The Mask* entitled 'Theatre Men in Europe' in which he systematically lists the abilities that the artist of the stage should possess[58]. These include no less than that of actor, playwright, designer, stage-manager, architect, craftsman and light expert. Craig could boast most of these, apart from being an architect, which he might have considered himself to be by some mystic method of analogy to his father. This was yet another example of Craig's directorial extremism, with *The Mask* functioning as a mouthpiece for Craig's director. Through its pages he builds the various personae for his artist and analyses his duties to the stage. Gradually Craig's 'Artist of the Theatre' evolves into a master term that blankets every possible aspect of theatrical art. This director is also a public figure, as theatre itself for Craig is seen in religious terms. He is a high priest/Dionysus character, who initiates the audience into a ritual. For Craig, the relationship of the art of the theatre to society is viewed in such quasi-religious

terms. His artist, therefore, is director- cum- high priest- cum- educator. In this scheme of things, he holds a public office and is appointed by the state. Craig describes the procedure such an appointment should follow:

He must be selected for his *Ability* - for what he has done - not for his influence of his gift of the gab, and not because he belongs to a famous Club in Pall Mall, Piccadilly or Garrick Street. When he has been chosen he will know the right men to select to carry out the necessary reforms in that branch of Public Service to which he has the honour to belong. In the Theatre of England you must search for man who has nothing for himself ... but nothing short of ALL for the Theatre. Only he can save the British Theatre.[59]

As a Christ/Dionysus figure the new director will 'save' the Theatre, and in doing so, will resurrect its secularized religious nature and restore its cathartic function within society. Drawing a further religious analogy, Craig talks of the function of theatre in schools. In particular, he writes about the Jesuit tradition:

The Jesuits' pupil teachers I think enjoyed playing at theatres - and the heads of the College found it really was of use to the final turned-out article... the gentlemen... which the college turned out finally.
... But beyond deportment and the grace of speech there is surely nothing else that can be taught to gentlemen in a college theatre?[60]

(It is interesting that Craig chose to mention the Jesuit tradition, as it is in their colleges that an embryonic form of a director figure appeared. For Craig, however, such a figure can no longer derive from other fields; he has to be *of* the Theatre). Despite his disagreement, Craig has much in common with the master/director of the Jesuit college: he too is autocratic and promotes a religious theatre;

though the religious for Craig is synonymous with the aesthetic rather than the Divine.

Craig took this role of educator for his 'Artist of the Theatre' very seriously indeed. He tried to realise his dream by forming a 'School for the Art of the Theatre' in 1913, which was based at the Arena Goldoni[61]. While he was setting up his school he wrote in his *Daybook 1* in 1910:

> The stage needs a school, it needs many schools. Practical and technical schools - schools for the theory and for the experimental study of the Art of the Theatre. We are all too ignorant. For instance can anyone on the stage today tell us what is *Language* and where it comes from - what is history? Can anyone on the stage tell us what is *Light*? Whence it comes - what its power - No - yet these two things, Light and Language, are greater and lesser parts of our material of the modern theatre.[62]

What Craig had in mind, would later become a vital component of the director's work: the theatrical workshop. Together with other directors of the period, like Stanislavsky and Meyerhold, Craig was working to create a space for experimentation that was separate from academic institutions and artistically respectable. The workshop would become an indispensable appendage to the director, helping create distinct trends and schools in theatre production.

For Craig, only his 'Artist of the Theatre' could be the formal instructor in such a school. Like the ancient Greek *chorodidaskalos* (*χοροδιδάσκαλος*), he was also a religious figure who demanded blind obedience. The education itself resembled an initiation process. In such a context, any attempt by other institutions to take on dramatic

education appeared blasphemous in Craig's eyes. Allardyce Nicoll, a regular contributor to *The Mask*[53] in the later years, was fiercely attacked by Craig when he used the periodical to announce a new School of Drama that he would be heading. This triggered an angry reaction from *The Mask* and started a correspondence between Nicoll and Craig (using the name G.C.Smith), which was published in its pages. Allardyce Nicoll writes in *The Mask*, in a letter responding to G.C.Smith's accusations:

> In announcing this new School of Drama in *The Mask*, I wish therefore to note that I do not wish to train the 'young gentlemen' students to be actors, or scene painters, or costume-designers, or producers. My aim and this I think should be the aim of all University departments of this kind - is to provide a cultural centre which may in its own way (however slightly) improve the conditions of the theatrical world.[54]

By 1925, when Nicoll announced the opening of his London University School of Dramatic Art, Craig's own school had been closed; his attacks on this particular institution are not only fired from a theoretical stance. True, he did believe as a matter of principle that Theatrical Art should be taught by people of the theatre, but his own personal bitterness is difficult to conceal, as he had received little financial support when mounting his project of a school. This would be Craig's permanent complaint towards his homeland. He felt betrayed, and the masks provided by pseudonyms allowed him to express this freely. Allardyce Nicoll is very supportive of Craig and his work throughout *The Mask*, but this new venture of his is conceived by Craig as yet another betrayal. He writes as G.C.Smith:

> But praise is cheap, and soft words butter no parsnips. Is Mr.Craig merely to be 'praised' for his services ... a little sweet wind blown

upon him... while colleges are to receive solid support to play at Theatricals, usurp a position not their own? Because Mr.Craig is an artist, not a collegiate body (not even a Professor like Herr Max Reinhardt) is he to step aside - be side-stepped -; passed over and denied support while that support is given to Universities and Colleges for the very work he initiated and was born to do?[65]

Under the guise of a priest, prophet or educator Craig's director would certainly be the sole creator of theatrical art. Philosophically, this is in line with the Symbolist synaesthetic attempt at imposing one single artistic consciousness on a total artwork. Craig's extremism seems a logical extension of his Nietzschean background. Having substituted the *cognitive will* with the *aesthetic will*, it follows that such a will could only be absolute, unique and autocratic. Craig wrote in his essay 'Some Evil Tendencies in the Modern Theatre' in 1908:

it is impossible for a work of art ever to be produced where more than one brain is permitted to direct; and if works of art are not seen in the theatre this one reason is a sufficient one, though there are plenty more.[66]

If Craig developed any theory for production other than a theory of the director, it would have to be within the context of the notion of *monodrama*. In his article 'Moscow and Monodrama'[67], Laurence Senelick puts forward the case that the Craig/Stanislavsky production of *Hamlet* in 1912 was, as far as Craig's contribution was concerned, an exercise in *monodrama*. Craig's notions of the unified and unifying directorial will were parallel to the Russian Symbolists' ideas on the definition of the artist. In particular, the essay by the Decadent poet and playwright Sologub, 'The Theatre of a Single Will' sounded very Craigian indeed. Such a theatre viewed production as the

projection of one artistic consciousness, to which every aspect of performance was subjugated. Sologub's words that 'the drama is the product of a single concept, just as the universe is the product of a single creative idea'[68], justified and indeed demanded the replacement of live actors by marionettes. Working within the same framework, Evreinov was formulating a theory of *monodrama* focused on a central protagonist.[69] Craig's image of *Hamlet* was parallel to Evreinov's notion of the *monodramatic* protagonist. He conceived of the whole play as a projection of Hamlet's psyche, demanding that he be constantly present on stage, throughout the whole play. Such a vision would be almost impossible to direct, unless the director and the protagonist expressed one single artistic consciousness. In this particular production, though, Craig was not working with marionettes; quite the opposite: he was working with actors trained in the Naturalist tradition. In *The Mask*, where Craig recorded much of his experience of working with the Moscow Art Theatre, he printed abstracts from his diaries of the time. He writes in his notes to the actors:

> I can help you but I cannot teach you, for this is a thing which no man can teach. I can tell you some things which, if you will believe them, will unfailingly bring you in time nearer to that state which we have called ecstatic.[70]

Directing for Craig is not a matter of teaching or instructing. Since theatrical art is the expression of one *will*, all that is needed is faith in that artistic *will*. Of course, such harmony can never be achieved in this scheme of things, if director and protagonist are two distinct creative forces. Craig ends his notes to the actors :

This is the gist of what I wished to say to the actors of the Moscow Art Theatre. But, on seeing their kind faces and their wrinkled brows I had not the heart to add one more wrinkle. I had at least the wit to abstain once more... and made one more design for an *Ubermarionette*.[71]

The *Ubermarionette*, as the scenic materialisation of the director's psyche, can be read as resulting from such a theory of *monodrama*. Laurence Senelick points out that this is directly in line with the Russian Symbolist school. I would suggest that it may have another source as well. *Monodrama*, as an interpretive mode of production, with its emphasis on the single aesthetic consciousness, particularly that of Evreinov's 'protagonist', is very reminiscent of the Irving/ stage-manager tradition. In his book/homage *Henry Irving* Craig, amongst all the praises and eulogies to his mentor, outlines what he considers to be the role of Irving. It is significant that Craig is not quite sure what terminology to apply. He writes in 1930:

I had almost headed this chapter *Irving as Producer*, but strictly speaking Irving was not a producer: I am forced again into a repetition - he was an actor - an actor manager. He set out not to produce a play as we do to-day - as they did in Italy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries - but to act one: he stage-managed it himself, but he stage-managed for one actor's sake, for the sake of Irving - and a producer does not do that.

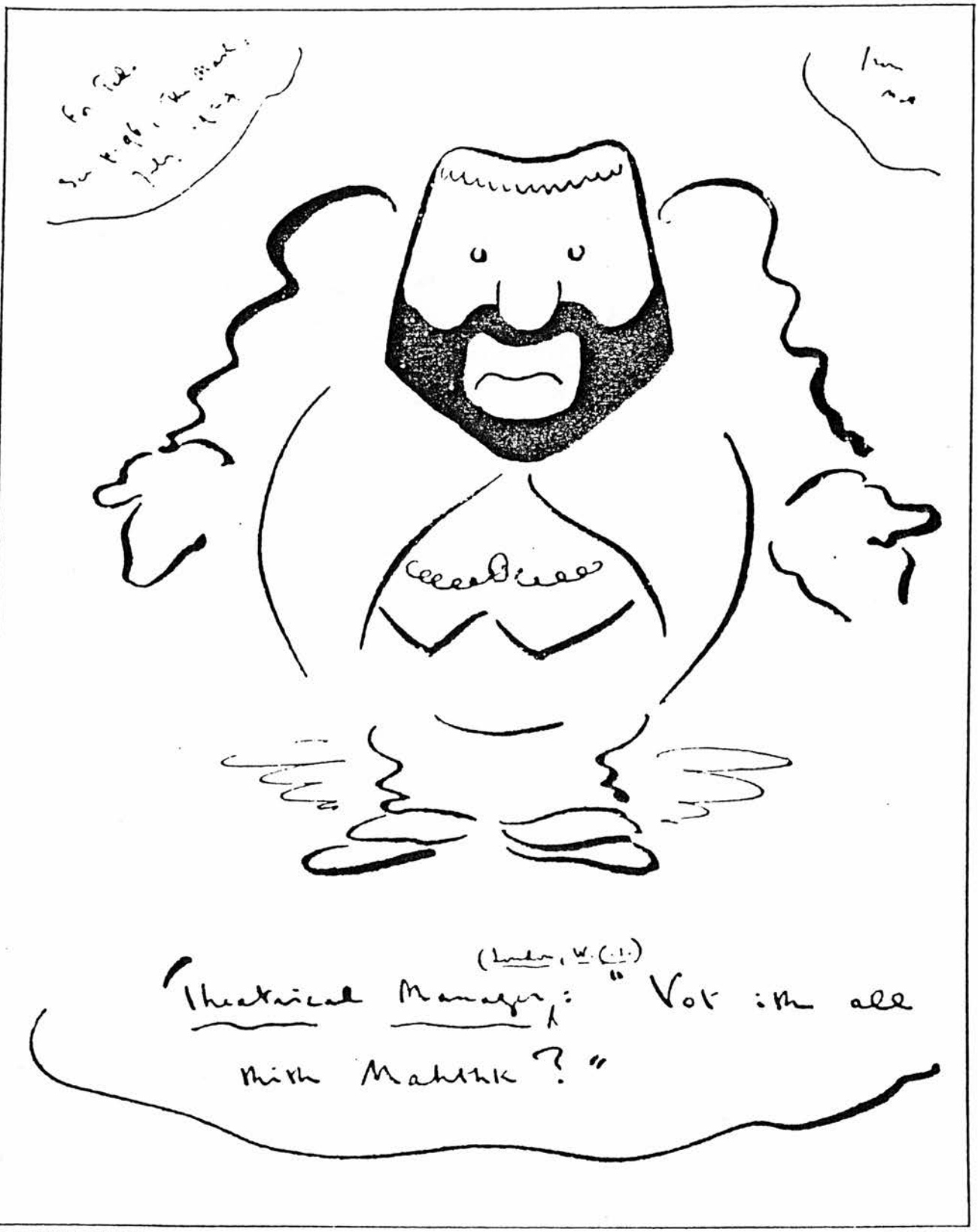
Irving was an actor, and an actor only; all he did and all he thought, rightly or wrongly, was imagined or done as an actor.

I want to make this point. It is the only point I wish you to allow me to insist on. He felt things, thought things, saw things, heard things, and did things as an actor should - not as every actor does, but as a unique one can do. He was this unique actor.[72]

This unique actor in Craig's model is substituted by the *Ubermarionette*. In an attempt to develop a theory of the director, and at the same time remain loyal to Irving and all he represented, *monodrama* presents a plausible theoretical solution for Craig. The

conflict of artistic wills between his 'director' and the Irving/star-actor type protagonist, are solved by the *Ubermarionette*. In a way, the *Ubermarionette* symbolizes Craig's attempt to exorcize Irving, and transfer the creative will of the protagonist into that of the director. This was not the constructivist/futurist, de-humanized marionette. Craig's *Ubermarionette,* was the result of fusing the Symbolism of Evreinov's protagonist with the Romanticism of Irving's character-acting. In this way, Craig could replace Irving without being disloyal, and assume the role of the director. Indeed, he could *be* both Irving the stage-manager *and* Craig the modern 'Artist of the Theatre'. In this context, his later statement about Irving as, 'the nearest thing ever known to ... the *Ubermarionette*', does not sound so paradoxical. The *monodramatic* marionette, unlike the constructivist marionette, is almost doomed to remain on paper, as its materialisation would involve shifting from a Symbolist/Romantic framework to a more Modernist/Constructivist one. By definition then, the stages on which Craig could express his 'Artist of the Theatre' were limited, until he reached his goal of creating 'The Theatre of the Future'. In the meantime, *The Mask* provided him with a permanent and faithful stage, where his absolute and determining 'Artist of the Theatre' could express his *aesthetic will.*

Theoretically, Craig felt completely justified in promoting the director's right to impose one single directorial vision. That this particular stance could be - and indeed was - interpreted as arrogant and whimsical, was something which left Craig indifferent. For him, it was not a personal matter; his *will* was part of the all encompassing



A CARICATURE. *MAX BEERBOHM.*

THEATRICAL MANAGER (LONDON W. C. I.) "VOT ITH ALL THITH MAHTHK?"

See "The Mask", July 1924, p. 96.

"Not until England chooses to drive away the hundreds of petty somebodies, ceases straining an ear to the mumbling of "certain critics, those poseurs who have kept our Theatre under for these last twenty years, not till then will there be room "for the better workers. Until England clears out the underhand Professional "manipulators" and invites the new men "in, the English Theatre will be forced into the background by other European theatres."

aesthetic will. As such, it could not be marred by criticisms. As his director was a *master of ceremonies*, Craig could freely assume as many masks and pseudonyms as he desired. Being a periodical, *The Mask* sets a perfect stage for this image of the director. As pure artifice, a magazine conveniently disposes with anything three-dimensional and animate. With the use of pseudonyms, Craig could project his *aesthetic will* onto every page; indeed the whole periodical could function as an extension of that *will*. Extending the image of the periodical as performance, Craig functions as the ultimate director through *The Mask*. Conceiving and executing his directorial vision completely behind the scene, with no artistic restraints whatsoever, he presents through *The Mask* a kind of meta-theatrical performance, as the aim of the publication is to define the 'Art of the Theatre'.

CHAPTER V

ORIENT AND ORIENTALISM IN *THE MASK*

This section will examine the impact of Orientalism in *The Mask*. The Orient, not only as a removed and remote world that provides an ideological framework for much of the theorising in its pages, but also as a specific locus for particular artistic forms, is dominant in *The Mask* and throughout Craigian thought. In its real, historical dimension or in its reconstructed, and to large extent fantasized one, the Orient and its theatre prove a rich source for much of the material published in *The Mask*, and set another example for Craigian notions of theatricality. This constant borrowing from and reinventing of the Orient towards its own ends is not a venture undertaken by *The Mask* alone; it partakes in the general fascination that most Modernist schools of performance share with Oriental theatrical practice, and provides for Craig yet another point of reference and contrast with his contemporaries.

5.1. The Orient as 'Other'.

> The dangers of knowing are ever increasing. The danger of knowing all about the East... what a danger! The more we know the more we lose. The East seemed so far off once upon a time; to some it still seems as far... as far as the stars. How they shine... and how the East shines... in their distances. Instruct some of us in the stars and their light goes out, nor is there more light in us.
>
> So it is with the Holy East. Come to us, then, with your banners and your music, sweep past us with your dancers and divinities and go; *do not deceive us by such flattery*: let us remain ignorant, leave our hands untied. If you will conquer us do it like conquerors. So shall we (some of us) remain to the end affectionately yours.[1]

In reviewing E. Clements's *A Study of Indian Dance*, in the pages of *The Mask*, in 1913, Craig exposes his general attitude towards what he terms 'the holy East'. Despite the vagueness of the term, the 'East', or what Craig conceives as such, plays a determining role in the formulation and articulation of Craigian theories for the theatre throughout the pages of *The Mask*. This influence works on two levels: on a direct historical inter-cultural level, and on a mythological one. On the one hand, real information about eastern theatrical modes appears in *The Mask*. An immense number of articles about oriental notions of performance is spread throughout its issues, covering the whole spectrum of the performing arts from theatre and dance to puppets and masks. They are either written by Craig himself, who exhibits a surprisingly comprehensive knowledge of the field, or by pioneers of the study of oriental art in English, such as Ananda K. Coomeraswamy[2]. On the other hand, *The Mask* also maps a mythology of the East: the East as it is conceptualized by traditional western thought. This is the East of the Orientalists. Whether dark, mysterious, seductive and wise as in Craig's quotation, or threatening and barbaric, the East of Orientalism presents an alternative, an 'other' for Euro-centric art and thought in general. In this sense *The Mask* has influences both historical and ideological, and appears both as Oriental *and* Orientalist.

Much of the material about oriental theatrical modes presented in *The Mask* was new for most western audiences - certainly for English speaking ones - and consequently very important historically. Craig is very meticulous and systematic in presenting his material, making the

'oriental' (as opposed to the 'orientalist') aspect of *The Mask* one of the most scholastic and academically sound, second only perhaps to the treatment of the Commedia dell'Arte. Nevertheless, Craig does not manage to escape what V.G. Kiernan called 'Europe's collective day-dream of the Orient'[3]. Whether Romantic or Modernist, this day-dream sees the Orient as a blank screen, existing primarily for its own solipsistic projection. As Edward W. Said says in his extensive study *Orientalism*:

> In the system of knowledge about the Orient, the Orient is less a place than a *topos*, a set of references, a congeries of characteristics, that seems to have its origin in a quotation, or a fragment of a text, or a citation from someone's work on the Orient, or some bit of previous imagining, or an amalgam of all these.[4]

It is this use of the Orient as a *topos* which in part defines Craig's work and, in many ways limits the potential which oriental theatrical modes presented for his own theories. As long as the East remained *exotic*, it could not be appropriated to help form a new theatrical language. Seeing the Orient within the scope of Orientalism, as Said defines it, is a process which strips its object of any notion of history, and ultimately obscures and exoticizes it. A metalanguage of a different order is required to de-exoticize the Orient, a metalanguage which Craig lacked. Again Modernity provides such a model. Meyerhold, Brecht and Artaud had a language for their medium and an ideology to contextualize it, and so arguably made more vital use of oriental forms and techniques. Craig, to do him justice, identifies the potential the Orient presents for reviving theatrical art much earlier than his European counterparts do. Lacking the language with which to process, appropriate and eventually de-

SHUNZAN: Dance of Four Geishas, Two disguised as Monkeys..

THE MASK.
October 1911.

exoticize it, he enters into yet another of the conflicts which run throughout his work. All his knowledge and admiration of the East, essentially Romantic, never quite plays the determining role it could. Covered by a cloud of awe and fascination, the Holy East is somewhat fetishized and never quite appropriated. This conflict will generate more ideas, more schemes and dreams that will never be realized.

5.2. Orientalism and Modernism.

A gradual, though not always successful, process of historicizing oriental artistic modes and finally de-exoticizing them starts at the turn of the century and reaches its peak with late Modernism. In search of alternatives to Euro-centric Humanism, Modernism, both in its Idealistic and Materialistic form, turns to the East for paradigms. The Russian Futurists, Kandinsky and the *Blaue Reiter* group, Craig and later the Russian Ballets all re-defined their art through re-writing what they conceived as being Oriental.

Oriental artistic modes presented the ultimate dehumanized art form. Abstract, stylized and highly conventional, they provided Modernism with a language which was the antithesis of humanism and naturalistic mimesis. It was the purely stylized formal language that Modernism required to redefine art and its role. However, the appropriation of oriental artistic modes by Modernism was not a straight-forward process. Historical and ideological parameters created differences between the various schools of Modernism.

Keeping the main categorization that we have been working with - that of distinguishing between an Idealistic and a Materialistic trend in Modernism - Craig's Orientalism can be more clearly interpreted. For Idealistic Modernism the Orient remained essentially 'other'. It presented a regenerating force for Europe. Its art was magic, wise, sensual and ritualistic. Rooted in ancient myth and archetype, it was seen as the force which would oppose the mechanization and the technology of the modern world. At the same time, Eastern art was not Classical and Humanist. It presented the ideal model for the anti-Humanist Idealism promoted by T.E. Hulme in *Against Humanism* and Worringer in *Abstraction and Empathy*. This was the Orientalism of the *Blaue Reiter* and of the Russian Ballets. A very different type of Orientalism is found in the work of Brecht. It is not only time that separates Diaghilev's *Scheherazade* (1910) from Brecht's *The Good Woman of Setzuan*, or Max Reinhardt's production of *The Chalk Circle* (1924) from Brecht's reworking of the same theme. It is the ideological framework which accounts for the two antithetical interpretations of Orientalism.

The work of Meyerhold, who had a great influence on Brecht, can be seen as a paradigm of Materialistic Modernism in the theatre. His application of Oriental theatrical modes helped him shape his own theory for acting. At the same time, his ideology contextualized and historicized modes which would be considered 'other'. The work of Craig is on the opposite side of the spectrum. His Orient is an Idealistic one. His vast knowledge of oriental theatre at times almost succeeds in de-exoticizing the Orient, but this is never quite

achieved. His ideas on theatre are Modernist in their conception, but not in their execution. Again the lack of a technology for his art form presents problems when it comes to actually giving shape to ideas. The formulation of such a technology or language could have been helped by his knowledge and experience of eastern theatre; in the same way that Meyerhold and Brecht used Oriental notions on theatre to articulate their own theories. Craig, on the other hand, approaches the Orient as a late Romantic, seeing it as the last salvation from the ever-increasing modernization of the age. He writes in *The Mask* (1910) in an article reviewing Coomaraswamy's *Arts and Crafts in India*:

There has been of late years a revival of Arts and Crafts in Europe and America. We have all heard about the revival,... but where are the Arts and where the Crafts?
How is it that man is not a scrap revived by this Revival?

The answer is provided by the frontispiece of Coomaraswamy's book which bears the Head of Krishna and the following quotation (deriving from the lament of the milkmaids in Hindu mythology):

Have you left us, O Krishna, because we took you for a common play-fellow and did not pay you the tribute of worship that you deserved at your hands?
How often, when playing, we quarrelled and abused you.
Did you take these things to heart, and desert us, though we were so deeply devoted to you?
We often beat you, or carried you on our shoulders, and rode on yours, often we ate first and gave you the remnants, calling you by all familiar names.
Have you, for all these forsaken us, oh beloved Krishna?

It is not wise to quarrel with the Ideal,... with God.
We in Europe and in America have taken our Krishna out in motor cars for joy-rides,... while attempting the 'Revival' of the Arts and Crafts. Can crazyness(sic) go further... or dream a lower dream?

We put on our Arts and wear our Crafts.[5]

The Orient here is seen as a muse who will breath the air back into Western culture. Indian religion itself is seen as some sort of Oriental version of Christian pantheism. The image of Krishna is borrowed, adding an air of distance and authority. The fear of Modernity appears again with the images of fast cars and fashion. On another level Craig's comment can be seen as a criticism of Futurism and Constructivism and its application of dehumanized Oriental art forms. It also foreshadows the Oriental craze in fashion, which was to follow in a few years time, initiated by Bakst through the Russian Ballets and popularized by Paul Poiret.

As was the case with the Arts and Crafts movement, which borrowed Oriental artistic modes and used them as an antidote against the all menancing modern world, so is the case with *The Mask*. The Orient never quite fuses with Modernity to produce an entirely new artistic form. The distinction between Occident and Orient remains clearly fixed. As long as the two worlds are seen in opposition and defined against each other, the assimilation and appropriation processes that later Modernism was to achieve remain impossible. Craig writes in the same review:

> To look at the illustrations in this book of Dr. Coomaraswamy's after looking at the work of the Futurists is like looking forwards instead of backwards.
> These works of sculpture these paintings and cabinets, these gestures of actor or dancer are all so young, and really refreshing after the aged Futurists.[6]

Keeping the two worlds distinct and separate, Craig fails to realize that many of the Futurist notions of abstraction, stylization, and de-

humanized art in general have very clear Oriental counterparts. Also remaining faithful to his motto 'the old is better than the new', he continues to see Oriental theatre as a historical phenomenon, definitely worth studying as such, but not easily assimilated by today's all too modern world.

5.3. Oriental Theatre as Paradigm.

The holy East and its dramatic arts comprise a good deal of the articles in *The Mask*, especially in the first 10 volumes of the periodical. Craig's study of eastern drama had almost certainly influenced his ideas on the 'Art of the Theatre'. Even if he considered Oriental drama as one of the great theatres of the past and studied it mostly under a historical perspective, it nevertheless helped shape Craigian notions on theatre. Apparently quite removed from a psychological theatre of ideas and from naturalistic representation through ritualistic stylization, Oriental theatre provided a model for Craig. Although this model *did* remain exotic and consequently Orientalist it still created fertile ground for Craigian analysis and speculation. His extensive studies on Noh plays, Javanese puppets and Indian dance are paradigmatic and expose his great knowledge of the field. Many of the conflicts in Craig's theories could have been resolved had he seen the possibility offered by Oriental dramatic modes, not merely as an admirable exotic theatre of the past, but as a form of theatrical discourse that could have helped him re-write his own medium.

Craig's attraction to and fascination with Oriental theatre is more than obvious. Theatre as religious ritual; stylized acting; the prominence of puppets and of the puppet-master; the wearing of masks: all these are ideas which seem very Craigian indeed. And the total aspect of this type of theatre seems to require a unifying force, an artist who will create a synaesthetic effect. So, in shaping his role as the total 'Artist of the Theatre', Craig finds a paradigm. As early as 1914 he is noting that:

> The stage manager (in fully developed Indian drama) is called, as in the puppet-play, sutradhara, 'thread holder'. From this fact, as early as 1879, a native scholar of European education Shankor Pundurang Pandit by name drew the reasonable conclusion that performance by puppets and paper figures must have preceded those by human beings.[7]

The notion of the puppet-master acquires quasi-religious qualities. The puppet-master is not only an artist, but also a high priest. Within the context of a religious, ritualistic theatre the puppet-master is seen as a master of ceremonies, and this is exactly the role that Craig had envisaged for himself. His artistic status fluctuates between that of the Romantic stage-manager and the Modernist director, but in the guise of a high priest of a theatre which is seen as religious ceremony that will uphold tradition and eventually save the world. The director of such a theatre acquires super-human attributes. Craig continues in the same article, praising the virtues of the Japanese puppet-master:

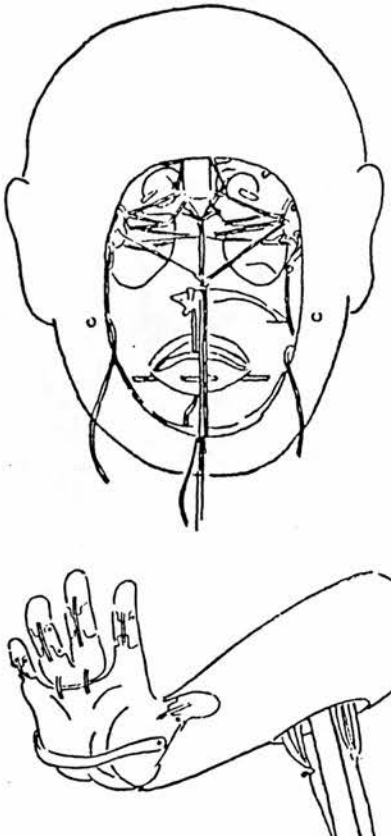
> Their art is unique, and while they pull the strings which make the dolls move and act like creatures of real life they are able to completely efface themselves so that their faces are masks. No interest in the movements of the dolls is written there, no hint of self so that the puppets become so absorbingly interesting the audience is lost in the story they tell. 'Korombo' wear black masks,

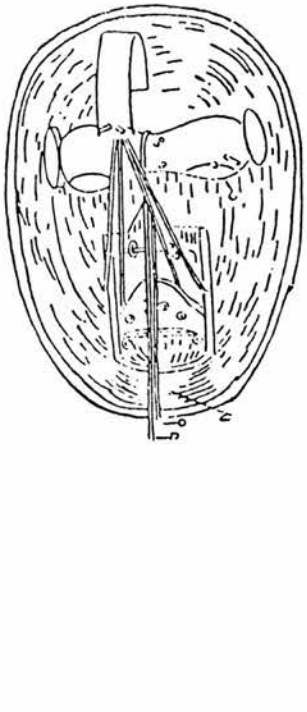
but those who are able to obliterate all trace of personality do not need a covering and their achievment is certainly worthy of the greatest admiration.[8]

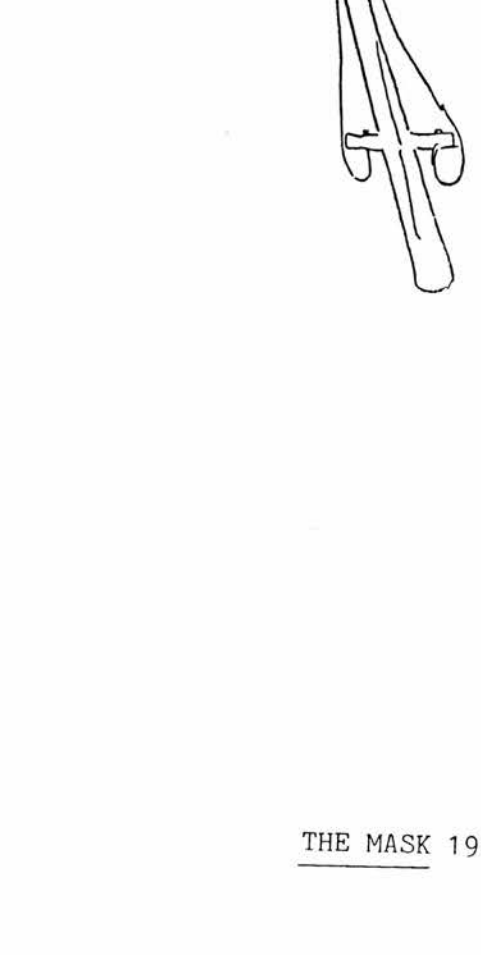
The illusion is created through stylization and ritual, rather than representation. The more explicit, it seems, the creative process the more the audience is drawn into the illusion. The director himself, totally removed from his own psychology, enters into the ritual. This process of de-humanization is helped by the use of the mask. As Craig believes, quoting Nietzsche, 'every great spirit needs a mask'. The director for Craig is such a spirit. The title of his magazine is also suggestive of this role he assigns to himself.

The image of the puppet and the puppet-master is not only used as a metaphor, but acquires very real dimensions when seen in the light of Craig's theories on acting. The actor as a psychological entity is banned from the stage and is replaced by Craig's *Ubermarionette*. This idea was created by Craig in an attempt to do away with the theatre of ideas. The *Ubermarionette* was to redefine the art of acting altogether. On a stage where psychology and personality have no place the *Ubermarionette*, under the control of a masked director/priest, would be the ultimate symbol of the New Theatre. Again the puppet-master provides the paradigm:

These men are able to vanquish the common desire of actors, in whatever part of the world they are to be found, to allow their own personality to dominate and to project themselves into the character they assume, that they can make it possible for the audience to enjoy their art which is concentrated in the dolls and at the same time be perfectly oblivious of the man behind.[9]







Diagrams of Head and Arm of a Japanese Marionette.

THE MASK 1915

The fact that the audience would be oblivious of the 'man behind' might sound slightly simplistic and naive, especially with the rise of the director as an artistic figure that was to follow. It is interesting to note what misreadings and misconceptions Craig applies in this analysis of the role of the puppet-master. Especially so are his allusions to the Japanese Bunraku theatre which omit (perhaps strategically) the role of the narrator-reader, whose presence stresses the literary character of the Bunraku plays. In an example of Orientalism Craig re-writes or re-reads a theatrical tradition in a manner that best suits his needs.

5.4. The Cult of the Eastern Puppet and his Western Poor Relative.

The artistic character of the puppet is revived throughout late Romanticism and Modernism. It is seen as the ultimate creation, not bound by psychology or history and not having to represent anything other than itself and its art. In this context the puppet-master/artist acquires divine qualities, for he literally breathes life into his creation. The European tradition in puppet theatre is not discarded by *The Mask*; it is merely considered to be inferior to the Oriental: 'Punch and Judy are the last of their proud race', writes Craig. This aura of awe and wonder that surrounds the marionette as the ultimate artifice is made very clear in a quotation from Joseph Conrad that Craig prints in *The Mask* under the title 'Flesh Blood and Marionettes - A Nineteenth Century Note':

> The actors appear to me like a lot of *wrong-headed* lunatics pretending to be sane. Their malice is stiched with white threads. They are disguised and ugly. To look at them breeds in my melancholy soul

thoughts of murder and suicide, - such is my anger and my loathing of their transparent pretences. There is a taint of subtle corruption in their blank voices, in their blinking eyes, in their grimacing faces, in their light false passion, in the words that have been learned by heart. But I love a marionette-show. Marionettes are beautiful, - especially those of the old kind with wires, thick as my little finger, coming out of the top of the head. Their impassibility in love, in crime, in mirth, in sorrow, - is heroic, superhuman, fascinating. Their rigid violence when they fall upon one another to embrace or to fight is simply a joy to behold. I never listen to the text mouthed somewhere out of sight by invisible men who are here today and rotten tomorrow. I love the marionettes that are without life, and that come so near to being immortal!'[9]

It is not only the Eastern notion of the puppet theatre - even though it is in the East where it still remains holy - that inspires Craig. In seeing the marionette as the purest of artistic forms he was also working within a late Romantic tradition which in essence did not need the Orient but was happy to appropriate it. Conrad expressed his admiration for puppets as early as 1890. In search of a dehumanized, non-representational art form he chooses the marionette as a model. The art of the human actor is considered to be ugly and corrupt as it only consists of grotesque mimicry and pretence, according to Conrad. The human actor cannot by definition create real art, for he is doomed always to represent rather than to create. In this sense the marionette in all its artificiality, and because of it, is true art. The fact that they are 'without life' as Conrad suggests gives them the opportunity to be immortal. The other interesting aspect of the above quotation is its sub-title - 'A Nineteenth Century Note' - explicitly noting that Craig was working within a tradition which he was bringing into the twentieth century. He designed that 'heroic, superhuman, fascinating' creature that Conrad had only dreamt about.

In doing so he based his ideas on the puppet theatre of the East, as it was still in practice the way he envisaged his theatre to be.''

Craig could also seek refuge in the puppet theatres of the Holy East when defending his *Ubermarionette*. From the characters of the Javanese Wayang Shadow Theatre he borrows the pseudonym for *The Mask's* editor: Semar.[12] In a series of letters to the editor (Craig writing to Craig) he proposes:

that all the adverse critics of my suggestion should read two books on the Theatre of Japan:

1. KABUKI, the Popular stage of Japan, by Zoe Kincaid (Macmillan, 1925).
2. MASTERPIECES OF CHIKAMATSU, the Japanese Shakespeare, by Asataro Miyamori (Kegan Paul, 1920).

Having read the former my antagonists will be bowled over; on reading the latter thay will come and beg my pardon. Or they are dishonest men and all, i.e., they have no sense of humour left.'[13]

By 1927, when this appears, quite a few books on Oriental theatre had been published in English. This is very different from the situation in 1908 when the essay on 'The Actor and the *Ubermarionette*' first appeared in *The Mask*. During those early years of the century and because of the lack of other relevant material, Craig's essay sounded very radical indeed. In the twenty five years that passed, and within the general atmosphere of Orientalism, much more information about Oriental theatre was made available to European audiences. But in the whole run of *The Mask* Craig takes particular delight in reviewing books on the theatre of the East, and when doing so he always makes sure to point out to his rivals the correspondence between the Eastern theatre and his own.

Craig was very much aware of the fact that his *Ubermarionette* was a twentieth century concept. In differentiating himself from Conrad he attempts to move towards a more Modernist context, within which such an *Ubermarionette* could have actually been realized. One of the reasons this is never achieved is that he lacks the meta-language to appropriate his Eastern influences. As long as the Eastern influence remains distant and exotic it can not be seen as a real and material creative process which can be analysed, understood and finally assimilated. Craig was very much aware of this dead-end situation he had reached with his *Ubermarionette*. By 1927, almost twenty years after the initial appearance of his essay, he seems less optimistic about the realisation of his schemes regarding the *Ubermarionette*:

> Nor you nor I will live to see whether 'The Actor and The *Ubermarionette*' is destined to affect the actor at all. It seems to have offended the English actor, though foreign actors, strange to say, can read it, without getting huffy.[14]

Dressing his *Ubermarionette* with a visionary prophetic quality, Craig manages to by-pass the accusation that his project was virtually unrealizable. His role is to conceive ideas, not to find a way of putting them into practice. The final product of art is what interests him and this product he fetishizes. The *Ubermarionette* itself can be read as an extreme form of a fetishized art. The creative process itself is of no interest. It is not worthy of a true artist's attention. In this way, claiming that his *Ubermarionette* is merely a vision for the future and not a specific project which he intends to carry out, he is safe and remains within the same idealistic framework.

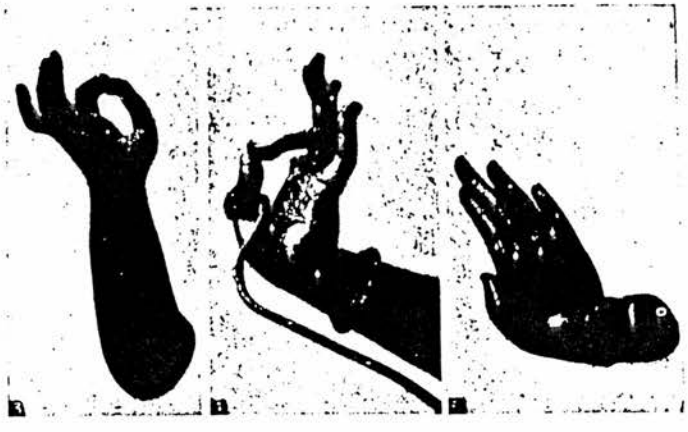
5.5. Puppets and Theories on Acting.

Craig's inability to see Oriental theatrical modes as particular techniques which he could analyse and then use for his own purposes was also spotted by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy in an article entitled 'The Human Actor' published in *The Mask* in 1913. Coomaraswamy starts his argument with a quotation from Craig's 'The Actor and the *Ubermarionette*', stressing the fact that both Craig's notions on acting, and those of the theatres of the East, start from the same basic theoretical assumptions on the nature of art and man. He quotes from Craig's essay:

> The whole nature of man tends towards freedom; he therefore carries the proof in his own person that as material for the Theatre he is useless. In the modern theatre, owing to the use of the bodies of men and women *as their material*, all which is presented there is of an accidental nature. The actions of the actor's body, the expression of his face, all are at the mercy of the winds of his emotions... emotion possesses him; it seizes upon his limbs, moving whither it will... That then, which the actor gives us is not a work of art; it is a series of accidental confessions.'[15]

This basic theoretical axiom of Craig's - that the human body is essentially not artificial enough to be creative - leads him to his concept of the *Ubermarionette*. An emotion-free, psychology-free creature, as pure artifice, could create pure art. The human form 'tends towards freedom' and lacks the rigid stylization of a ritualistic theatre. In its conception, this notion of the human actor is very Oriental indeed. The difference is that Craig goes one step further and obliterates the human form from the stage altogether. One possible explanation for such an extreme position could be his reading of Oriental acting techniques. Ignoring the idea of process from his

Javanese Marionette from the Collection of the Gordon Craig studio, Florence, Italy.



Argument or Discussion

"Do not fear!"

Hands of a Dancing girl

THE MASK.
January 1914.

9. A Deer.
10. Krishna's raising Mount Govardhan.
11. Vishnu's Garuda.
12. A Bed.

study, he fails to learn from Oriental acting techniques in a real way. A more systematic/historical study could have helped him find a theatrical language that could create the stylization he was aiming at, using the body itself; something that other Modernist schools of performance would achieve. Within the framework that Craig was working in it seemed much more plausible to capture the final product - the *Ubermarionette* - and not to worry too much about how this would come about. Coomaraswamy criticizes Craig along the same lines:

> Had Mr. Craig been enabled to study the Indian actors, and not merely those of the modern theatre, he might not have thought it so necessary to reject the bodies of men and women as the material of dramatic art. For those principles which have with great consistency governed arts until recently have also governed dramatic technique.[16]

Coomaraswamy continues his article, exposing a very sophisticated and ancient Indian system for training actors, utilizing the human form as a material for art. 'The great consistency' that governed arts 'until recently' is, of course, stylization, ritual and abstraction, which were challenged with the arrival of European naturalism. Traditional Indian dramatic technique sees the potential for abstraction even in the human form. For Craig this was inconceivable.

Coomaraswamy knew Craig and almost certainly discussed such matters with him. Craig, true to his normal unreadiness to work with others and take advice, probably ignored him. Yet Coomaraswamy appears as quite a prominent figure throughout the pages of *The Mask*. Craig reviews all his books very favourably, but when he deals with matters in which Craig considers himself to be the authority the problems

begin. Coomaraswamy ends the above article with:

I have only one objection to meet. When I told Mr. Craig of this conventional Indian art of acting, he said he thought it was wrong for human beings to submit to such severe discipline. But apart from their acting these Indian actors are as human as any others. That their acting should be so severely disciplined, is not more painful than the observance of Form in any other art. The musician at least requires an equally arduous training. The truth's that the modern theatre has so accustomed us to a form of acting that is not an art, that we begin to think it is too much to demand of the actor that he should become once more an artist.'[7]

This could easily have been said by Craig himself. For a man who believed in strict discipline and actually had students leave his school because they could not stand the rigidity of the programme, his objection sounds very strange indeed. In view of the fact, though, that one of Craig's main concerns was to establish his own identity as the 'Artist of the Theatre' who had complete control of every aspect of theatrical praxis, his blind spot is more understandable. The artistic quality of the human actor had to be got rid of. Formulating a theory for acting was not his chief concern. He believed that he had already done that with his *Ubermarionette* - an artifice with no artistic character of its own unless it is 'animated' by the 'Artist of the Theatre'.

5.6. Sexism, Feminism and The Case of Sadda Yakko.

Another aspect of Oriental theatre which coincided with one of Craig's favourite pet aversions was the banning of women from the stage. Again in the theatres of the East he found the justification he was looking for. Art for Craig was mainly a man's job. Women were

themselves seen as an artifice, expressing the classical notions of beauty and form. In a way women were a creation of man, so by definition they were unable to create art. Craig's antipathy to women actresses runs throughout *The Mask*, and it is one of his main weapons in his attack against naturalism in the theatre. On a more general level, Craig's strictly patriarchal notions are seen as yet another way of preserving the traditional past and protecting it from modern movements like feminism. Philosophically Craig shared the idealist Romantic view about women, as it is cogently expressed by Schopenhauer. A fourteen-page article by Schopenhauer is reprinted in *The Mask* entitled 'On Women'. The existence of such an article in a periodical on the art of the theatre seems odd in itself. In view of the fact, though, that Craig had appointed himself as a high priest figure of traditional cultural values it can be further understood. Quoting from Schopenhauer in *The Mask*, he theoretically exposes his position:

> Nature has made it the calling of the young, strong and handsome men to look after the propagation of the human race; so that the species may not degenerate.'[18]

Craig saw himself as being all of these: he was young, strong, handsome and he was, most importantly, a man. He fulfilled all the ontological qualifications necessary for a true artist. Schopenhauer's article continues:

> It is only the man whose intellect is clouded by his sexual instinct that could give that stunted, narrow-shouldered, broad-hipped, and short-legged race the name of *the fair sex*; for the entire beauty of the sex is based on this instinct. One would be more justified in calling them the *unaesthetic sex* than the beautiful sex. Neither for

music, nor for fine art have they any real or true sense and susceptibility and it is mere mockery on their part, in their desire to please, if they affect any such thing.'[9]

The above was published with a foreword by John Semar (i.e.Craig) 'believing that a serious article by an eminent writer would be welcome at this time upon what is known as the "Feminist Movement".'

Craig's determination to keep women off the stage seems particularly interesting considering the admiration he had for his actress mother Ellen Terry and the fascination he had developed for Isadora Duncan. It seemed, though, that he was decided to have his 'Theatre of the Future' without women actresses. Again he found his models in the theatre of the East and particularly in the theatrical arts of Japan. In the Japanese *onnagata* he found correlations with the Elizabethan theatre. Craig's ideas on the role of women in art are definitely patriarchal. He does not approach the gender issue in the theatre as later Modernists will. The trans-sexual, androgynous quality of Oriental actors, seen in a Modernist light, problematizes the issue of gender altogether. Modernist schools of performance will use the Oriental representation of the human form to move towards a genderless actor. Craig's *Ubermarionette*, lacking biological gender, still has ideological gender; he is most definitely a man.

An event which caused much confusion at the time was the discovery of Sada Yakko. Sada Yakko was Europe's first encounter with Japanese acting in 1900, at the International Exposition in Paris. Despite the Japanese tradition, here was a female actress playing

female parts. On her arrival in England she performed before Queen Victoria and Ellen Terry herself was reported to have declared that the whole experience had been 'a great lesson in dramatic art'[20]. Even Henry Irving, Craig's artistic godfather, was reported as saying, 'I never had an idea of such an acting.'[21]

The truth is that Sada Yakko had never performed in Japan. She only started acting with her husband Kawakami once they had left Japan. She had been trained as a geisha, which meant she had mastered traditional Japanese arts like dance and song. The company had initially left Japan in order to study western drama. As a result their productions were anything but classical. There were only traces of Kabuki left. Instead they presented highly Romantic and slightly stylized melodramas. Yet she was hailed by the critics of the period as a Japanese Sarah Bernhardt. Craig is aware of the impression created by Sada Yakko but also of the misconception. So he does not fall into the same trap as his mother and godfather. He has too broad a knowledge of traditional Japanese theatre to accept Sada Yakko as an example of it. In *The Mask* he comments on Sada Yakko's reception in the West:

> Madame Sada Yacco was the first lady to go upon the stage in Japan. The innovation was a pity. She then went to Europe to study the modern theatres there, and more especially the Opera House in Paris, intending to introduce such a theatre into Japan,... it is to be presumed with the idea of advancing the art of the Japanese theatre. There can be no hesitation in saying that she is doing both the country and its theatre a grievous wrong. Art can never find a new way of creating better than the primitive way which the nation learned as children from nature.[22]

The main accusation against Sada Yakko derives from the fact that she is a woman. For Craig she becomes a symbol of what may happen if women were allowed artistic status in the theatre. He goes so far as to consider the presence of women in the theatre as the reason for the decline of the art:

> The introduction of women upon the stage is held by some to have caused the downfall of the European theatre and it's to be feared that it is destined to bring the same disaster to Japan since it is announced that Madame Yacco intends not only to use actresses for the female roles but to introduce other occidental customs upon her new stage.[23]

Craig seems hostile to any notion of synthesizing the artistic modes of east and west, especially if changes are introduced by a woman. The theatre of the East has to remain static and distant for him to call upon when he wants to justify his own theories. Again women are seen as being too modern. They do not acknowledge the great traditions of the past. Craig writes in an article entitled 'Japanese Players' :

> The men were better than the women. They seemed better to understand and do more honour to the centuries behind them; they suggested art, ... if they did not perpetrate it. The ladies, on the other hand, kicked over the centuries.[24]

For Craig women do not have a subject status, they are only understood in relation to and as creations of men. The last place they have a right to thrive in is the theatre. In using the theatres of the Orient to back his case against women he overlooks one main aspect that was to be taken on by other schools of drama - the potentially genderless masked Oriental actors. His overzealous accusations against women in

the theatre do not only appear to be highly sexist, but also misinformed, as he fails to acknowledge the fact that early Kabuki theatre *did* use women actors, probably in an attempt to popularize and break the conventions of the very conservative and aristocratic Noh. Craig's reading of the androgynous character of the Eastern theatre was a traditional patriarchal one. He fails to see how this abstract representation can be used to de-naturalize gender altogether. This interpretation, which was applied by Meyerhold and others, was almost inconceivable for Craig, who shamelessly claimed 'that women must withdraw from the stage and leave it finally and exclusively to men if the theatre is to be saved'.[25]

5.7. Great Pasts and Fascist Presents.

In the general theoretical context of the East 'regenerating the West', Craig includes sketchy studies of the overall historical and religious background of Oriental theatre. The assumption is that, by studying the great societies of the past that gave rise to such art forms, the twentieth century could possibly create the right environment for such art to flourish once more. In taking on such a task Craig utilizes one of the classic Orientalist themes (or myths), according to which the 'once great and all powerful Orient is now in total decline'. The greatness of the past is what will create the regeneration of Europe, but the decline of the present is what will justify its Imperialism. From an article enitled 'The Sacred Drama of Cambodia' Craig's elegy on Khmer dance-drama has a decidedly

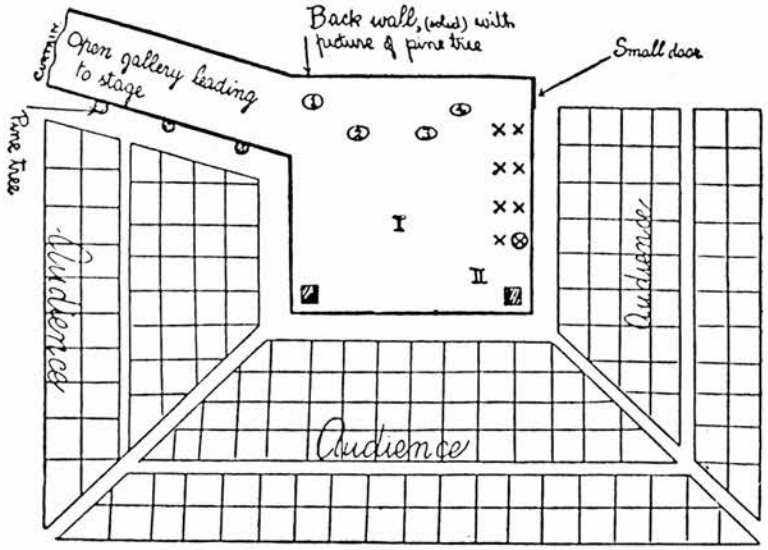
paternalistic tinge:

Despite its so reduced power this fallen Cambodian people remains the Khmer race that once was the wonder of Asia, in its mysticism and in its pomp; we know too that it has never lost the hope of recovering its old capital, buried for ages in the forests of Siam,... and it is always the Ramayana, that old and indefinite epic that continues to arouse its imagination and to guide its dreams.
May France, protectress of this land, understand that the ballet of the Kings Pnom-Penh is a legacy, an ancient marvel that must not be destroyed.[26]

The past of the Orient can only be of use to Europe in this process of regeneration if it is first protected, re-written, re-presented, by Europe itself. In its own right, as an actual historical process, it is of no interest. The real past of the Orient is of as much interest to Europe as is its real present. Craig truly believes the naive Romantic vision of Europe approaching the Holy East with the innocence of a child and the desire to learn. He writes, as Semar, in a note on 'Japanese Artists in the West':

How strange! We of the West who in life are only children, and quite unable to cope with any but the simplest of matters, find it so touching to be 'studied and imitated' especially in our Arts! How happy we must feel in our kind of shy way to see the descendant and pupil of Hokusai studying at the feet of Alma Tadema or Matisse![27]

Craig makes it very clear here that this regeneration process is definitely a one-way road. Anything else would be an attempt to break down the opposition between Occident and Orient; the very opposition which provides Craig with the theoretical framework that allows him to fossilize what he terms 'the glorious past' of the Orient and remain oblivious to its historical present. He continues in the same article:



Reproduced by permission of the Royal Society of Literature.

Diagram of stage arrangement in the *Nō*, showing also the position of the audience.

On the stage the chorus is represented by crosses, the leader of the chorus marked by an x surrounded by a circle.

The numbers I and II represent the positions during most of the action of the leading actors.

I represents the *shite*.

II represents the *waki*.

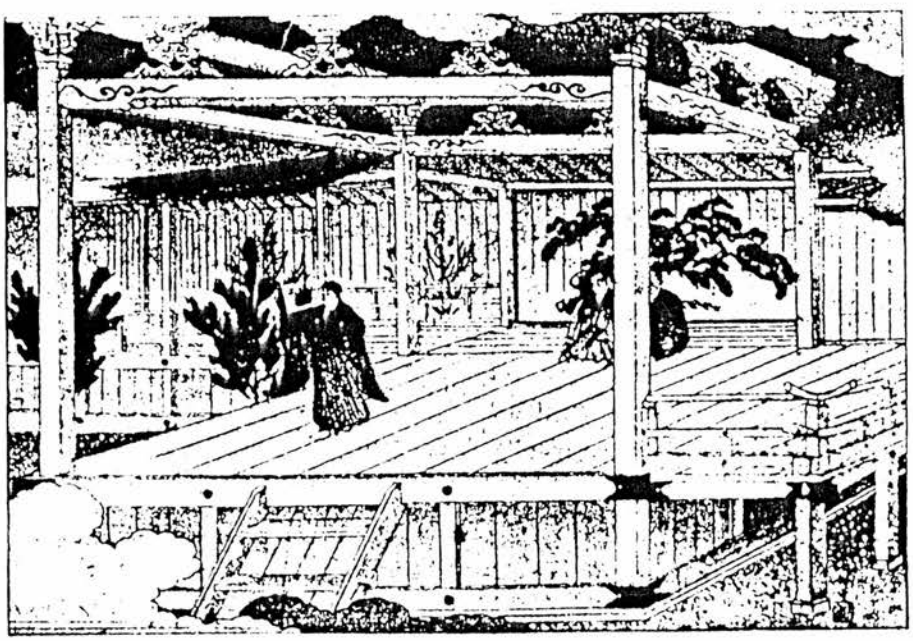
The encircled numbers show the positions of the musicians, who are stationary during the piece.

1. The *taiko* player. 2. The *otsuzumi* player.

3. The *kotsuzumi* player. 4. The *fue* player.

The squares at the front of the stage represent the two pillars supporting its roof.

This design of the No stage, and the plate facing it are from Mrs Stopes Book "Plays of Old Japan" by kind permission of Mr William Heinemann.



View of the "No" Stage.

January 1914.

THE MASK.

What is great in you is what remains over in spite of your attempt to rid yourself of the influence of the Past. You are great only in so far as you venerate and keep alive that Past... and remember that the Store Monkey in spite of all his magic and his travels wasn't as clever as he supposed.[28]

The Orient in the decline of the present is somehow seen as being unable to acknowledge the treasure of its past. That past has to be preserved by Europe if it is to survive and in its term add to the regeneration of Europe. It is in this context that Craig urges his readers to study not only the arts of the East but the conditions that bred them. He writes in his 1913 review of *Plays of Old Japan. The Noh*, a set of translations by Marie Stopes:

But it should be clearly remembered by those who examine these, or other ancient forms of dramatic ceremonial that, although they may afford an interesting study for archeologists(sic), may afford a particular kind of enjoyment to those who have the opportunity of witnessing their performance, the only real value of either the study or the spectacle in relation to the Living Theatre towards which our hopes turn is that which lies in tracing the peculiar conditions among which such drama arose, the peculiar spirit which gave it life. We see back in those days a great National spirit is glowing... The King is a god... and the nobles are astir and noble.[29]

The 'peculiar conditions' Craig speaks of are in most cases (certainly in the case of Noh) very conservative feudal ones. Craig was aware of this. Hence what he terms the grand past of the Orient can fuel and serve as justification for his fascist tendencies. As he saw it, fascism was to provide the grand, epic context within which the theatre of the future would thrive. In his review of Arthur Waley's *The Noh Plays of Japan*, in *The Mask*, Craig writes:

These great plays, this great way of playing for a great audience! There is nothing to be said in a brief review about this sort of thing so good it is.

What the No can be to us except something sad, I, after many years knowing of it and knowing what it stood for, dare not trust myself to say.
In Italy, they will perhaps, make, one day, something heroic from the coming of Mussolini.[30]

Using the Oriental tradition in the theatre as a vehicle for his conservatism, Craig sets up yet another barricade against Modernity. Mussolini was to create the great empire that would inspire a grand theatre. Craig, as the Artist of the Theatre, would certainly play a decisive role in such an empire. He would act as intermediary between the world of politics and the world of art. These two, according to Craig, should be distinctly separate. If anything it is the world of art that should influence and aestheticize the other realms. It is within this context that Mussolini appealed to Craig. Aesthetically he fulfilled all the requirements Craig had envisaged for the heroic figure that would act as mentor for his art. Such a view, innocent and naive as it may sound, is itself an expression of fascism. The aesthetization of politics and history is certainly a manifestation of fascism. Craig attempted to explain his vision to Mussolini himself. He writes in 1934:

Soon I shall be able to thank this great person for an act which shall bring every blessing on the Theatre for which I have lived.[31]

After a very disappointing brief meeting during which Mussolini forgot Craig's name, he reported :

Next day I report result of meeting to Orestano. He shakes his head about the delay of 1 hour and 10 min., and he says after I describe the interview 'He was not there'.[32]

This failure of reality to comply with vision, only resulted in further idealization of Craigian thought. The present was all the more disappointing so he turned with a greater conviction to the past. The Orient was a paradigm of the exact model Craig was formulating theoretically: a glorious past that had deteriorated into an insignificant present.

5.8. Yeats, Noh Drama and the Contribution of *The Mask*

The Noh drama of Japan, as we have seen, played a significant role in this scheme of things and occupied a privileged position in the pages of *The Mask*. Craig's journal, together with Pound's highly personal completion of the first major translation of Noh plays into English, constituted the first substantial attempts to initiate western audiences to this highly abstract and ritualistic theatrical practice.

The contribution of *The Mask* in spreading the Noh cult among the more literary Modernists is very important. Yeats and Pound were working on a translation of Noh plays between the years 1913-15. This was based on the Fenollosa manuscript. Ernest Fenollosa was an American scholar and diplomat who played a vital role in the introduction of Noh to western audiences. After his death (1908) his wife asked Pound to edit his manuscript of Noh plays. In 1916 *'Noh' or Accomplishment, A Study of the Classical Stage in Japan* was published in London with an introduction by Pound. This book is not referred to in *The Mask*. The omission appears to be rather deliberate as *The Mask*

appears to have dealt with Noh from its first issues (1908, 1909) and views with suspicion similar endeavours, especially if they are undertaken by poets and not artists of the stage. Indeed *The Mask* could claim to have influenced Pound when editing the translation, as he worked closely with Yeats who in turn, at that time, was enjoying a creative partnership with Craig.

Between 1909 and 1912 Craig had collaborated with Yeats at the Abbey Theatre, where he first had the opportunity to experiment with his screens: the scenic device that was to substitute for every form of scenery. This collaboration proved very fruitful for Yeats who, as Karen Dorn claims in her book *Players and Painted Stage*[33], was influenced by Craig in writing and revising his plays (notably *The Hour Glass*, which was published in *The Mask*[34] and *The Player Queen*). Yeats wrote to Craig in 1913:

Your work is always a great inspiration to me. Indeed I cannot imagine myself writing any play for the stage now, which I did not write for your screens.[35]

Craig repays the honour through the pages of *The Mask*:

I have myself acted as a most willing aid in the interpretation of the drama of Yeats and it has been one of the special happinesses of my life to have been connected with his poetic dramas in Dublin... but only as a servant... seeing his as a 'brother art'.[36]

It was during the same years that he was providing a context for Pound to work on the Fenollosa manuscript that Yeats wrote his first dance play, *At the Hawk's Well*. In the Noh drama he found the combination of poetry, music and dance that he was striving for. As Pound wrote of

the Noh, he saw in it 'a complete service of life. We do not find, as we find in *Hamlet*, a certain situation or problem set out and analyzed. The Noh service presents, or symbolizes, a complete diagram of life and recurrence'.[37]

Over the same period 1913-15 Yeats was a regular contributor to *The Mask*[38] and, one also assumes, a devoted reader. Indeed in 1913 he was planning to visit Craig in Florence as a literary advisor 'for a big scheme on poetic drama'[39]. So it is very likely that Yeats, in approaching the Fenollosa manuscript, was not approaching the Noh for the first time. He had already been exposed to its charms, probably with Pound, through the pages of *The Mask*.

The material available in English on Noh drama at the turn of the century amounted to a few published books and the prints at the British Museum. The most important publications were: M. A. Hink's *The Art of Japanese Dancing* of 1906 and Marie Stopes's *Plays of Old Japan* of 1910. These are reviewed and quoted in *The Mask*. But, as we have seen, Pound's book is interestingly ignored. In addition to the above *The Mask* introduces quite a few more books on the Noh, adding to the growing scholarship in the field. The most important of these are: Frederich Perzynski's *Japanesche Masken: No und Kyogen*, Isawaki and Hughes, translators, *Three Modern Japanese Plays* and a presentation of a book on the Bunraku writer Chikamatsu by Asataro Miyamori entitled *Masterpieces of Chikamatsu, the Japanese Shakespeare*[40]. These, together with numerous articles analysing Noh technique and

philosophy, mainly by Craig, make *The Mask* a very useful handbook for anyone at the time wanting to study the Noh.

Yeats's admiration of the Noh drama resulted in his *Four Plays for Dancers*. In writing these plays, some of them adaptations of original Noh plays, Yeats was of course as much influenced by the Fenollosa manuscript as by the material in *The Mask*. For Yeats, as was the case for Craig, the Noh presented a set of theatrical conventions both men could use and adapt. In true Orientalist manner, it is doubtful whether Yeats had actually seen any Noh drama performed, but relied on the Fenollosa translation and, one infers, on Craig's interpretations. In his introduction to *Certain Noble Plays of Japan* Yeats mentions that 'my play is made possible by a Japanese dancer whom I have seen dance in a studio and in a drawing-room and on a very small stage lit by an excellent stage-light'.[41] What Yeats describes here is not a traditional Noh performance, as the Japanese dancer Michio Ito, as was the case with Sadda Yakko, had come to the West to study European dance, but was urged to remain Oriental for the sake of intellectual and poetic speculation by figures like Pound and Yeats.

It was not only theatrical technique that attracted Yeats and Craig to the Noh. It came as part and parcel with an ideology that was grand, total and highly conservative. Shamelessly aristocratic in its origins, it is not surprising that the Noh was favoured over the more popular Kabuki theatre. In the Noh Yeats could find parallels for a traditional and nationalistic Irish theatre, and Craig and Pound could find historical precedents for their present attraction to fascism.

5.9. Contrasting Appropriations and the Case of Mei Lan-Fang

Historicity (or perhaps pseudo-historicity) of this sort, and indeed a more general fascination with the past, particularly characterizes the later volumes of *The Mask*. This might seem rather inconsistent in the work of someone who has since been celebrated as the prophet of a new movement in the theatre. But then Craig's concept of the new does not wholly coincide with his age's concept of the 'modern'. His reference to and application of Oriental theatrical modes is one example of this; for, while Craig was using the Orient as a means to re-discover and maintain his idea of a glorious past, other, more modernist schools of performance applied Oriental theatrical modes to a redefining of their art, dissociating it from the past and enlisting it in the creation of a new future.

Meyerhold, Brecht and Artaud could stand as Craig's modernist counterparts in their reference to the theatre of the Orient. All three theoreticians use Oriental theatre to redefine their art form and contextualise it within a broader world theory. It is their ideology which will provide the framework that will eventually de-exoticize the Orient and use it as a purely theatrical reference. Meyerhold and Brecht occupy one side of the spectrum, which conceives of the appropriation of Oriental modes as a materialistic process, and Artaud occupies the extreme opposite, viewing the Orient as the epitome of idealism. Both sides express the two main trends in modernism. Meyerhold views theatre as a materialistic creative process

which has to bear a direct relationship with the historical moment, whereas Artaud sees theatre as a ritual that transcends history, as an idealistic process of catharsis and sacrifice. In trying to bridge the two and realize the unrealizable, Artaud was perhaps inevitably led to madness. He lacked the metalanguage that could have provided the distance and at the same time articulated his visions. Artaud used himself as his language, and according to his own theories, literally (and by the end of his life no longer metaphorically) sacrificed himself. He became the holy actor. He tried to explain the 'magic of the Orient through magic', as Grotowski says. In a sense Artaud became the Orient. Meyerhold and Brecht followed quite a different process. In applying a very clear and material methodology, they distanced themselves as far as possible from the idealization of the Orient. The theatre of the Orient was used as a theatrical reference, not a philosophical one. In terms of theatricality, the theatre of the Orient would provide Meyerhold and later Brecht with techniques that would help them formulate the self-conscious and at the same time revolutionary theatre that they were striving for. Craig, in relation to the Orient stands somewhere in between the radically different trends. Like Artaud he sees the Orient in idealistic awe, but unlike him Craig is too conscious of himself, his identity and history, to take the risks that Artaud took. Extremities were never his style anyway. The notion of common sense was deeply rooted within him. Like Meyerhold and Brecht he tried to find ways of appropriating his knowledge of the Orient towards the formulation of his own theory. Unlike them, though, he lacked the ideology that could provide him with a metalanguage to undertake such a task.

A comparison of Craig's *Ubermarionette* with Meyerhold's theory of acting and how they both relate to Oriental notions of theatricality will serve to expose the differences between the two stage masters. For both artists re-defining the role of the actor was a goal directly related to establishing their own roles as directors. In the theatre of the future, according to Craig's vision, the actor as flesh and blood would have to be sacrificed if the art is 'to be saved'. A theatre of ritual had no room for anything 'natural' on its stage. Meyerhold, on the other hand, was concerned with human form as a material. This did not make his theatre more naturalist. On the contrary, it served to de-naturalize the human body so it could be used as a raw material for a theatre that was just as ritualistic and spectacular as Craig's.

Both Craig and Meyerhold found in Japanese and Chinese methods of acting not only an inspiration, but most importantly an example of the type of actor they were theorizing about. Craig saw a rigid stylization that substituted psychological acting for rhythmic motion and dance, changing the human body into a scenically flexible material. He writes in his review of Marcelle Azra Hincke's *The Japanese Dance* :

> The fact that the body itself is never seen and that Japanese dancing is yet so fine a thing as it is and was dispels once and for all the illusion that it is necessary ... for the movement of the natural body to be seen. ...The Japanese (style) with its strict ritual, its noble conservatism which still preserves traditional posture without change, or modification, its obedience to a fine tradition, its perfect control of its material,... that is the human body, approaches more nearly to the stately and splendid ceremonies of the past, of which, among us, some trace yet lingers in the symbolic gestures of the

priests celebrating mass, and it thus partakes more nearly of the nature of an art.[42]

Craig is impressed by this style in acting not only because it seems to do away with the natural body, but also because it is reminiscent of a glorious past. Meyerhold, on his behalf, saw in Eastern acting styles a particular method that he could utilize for his revolutionary theatre that would do away with the past altogether. Meyerhold was under the influence of the 'cult of the new' - a new art form for a new revolutionary world. Their very different attitudes determined the way they assimilated their influences.

Craig is a Romantic idealist, an artist of dreams and visions, not in the least interested in methods and technologies for the realization of his concepts. He sees in Oriental acting a final result, helping him reach the absolutist notion of the *Ubermarionette*. Meyerhold, functioning within the theoretical framework of Marxism, is interested in nothing but processes. For him and for the Russian Constructivists in general, the idea of art as a materialistic process de-fetishizes the artifice and places it in an historical context. What he saw in Oriental acting in particular was a methodology. The deliberate theatricality of Eastern acting styles helped him establish the self-conscious method of acting that Brecht was later to call 'double showing'. In much the same manner as a *Kabuki* actor might announce to the audience what he is about to portray and then proceed to enact it, the actor of Meyerhold has this dual function. This dialectic between the character, and character as

re-enacted by the actor, is the centre of Meyerhold's theory for acting. Alpers writes:

> The splitting up of the art of acting into character and its commentary did not contain anything mystical. It was altogether a rationalistic art; it laid open before the outsider the very mechanics of the creation of a scenic image.[43]

Bio-mechanics was the shamelesly modern name that Meyerhold was to call his system of training actors. In developing his system, like Craig Meyerhold used the puppet as a metaphor. Unlike Craig, though, it was not the puppet that would substitute for the human form, but the human form would model itself on the puppet. Meyerhold followed Craigian thought inside-out, as it were. Rather than ban the body from the stage, and for the same reasons as Craig's, Meyerhold strove to turn it into an *Ubermarionette*, but one of a decidedly uncraigian complexion. According to him such a task was possible for a materialistic actor. Through his very rigid *bio-mechanics* the human body would transform into a purely mechanized material object that could be manipulated as such on the stage.

Meyerhold was certainly aware of Craig's work as early as 1908 when he himself wrote a small biographical sketch on Craig for a Russian journal[44]. The two men were almost contemporaries and admired each other's work. By 1912, when Meyerhold started to develop his own theories, he probably had read Craig's essay on the *Ubermarionette*. Most importantly though, he had translated in 1909, from the German, the Japanese Kabuki tragedy *Terakoya*. As we can see both artists, at approximately the same periods were influenced by similar sources in

the formulation of their very different theories. An example of how the two were moving in the same direction, but on very different tracks is the case of Mei Lan-Fang, the Chinese actor who took Moscow by storm in 1935. Meyerhold, Brecht, Tretiakov and Eisenstein were all enchanted by his performances, and each bore marks of the strong influence of this experience. Mei Lan-Fang's acting style helped Brecht formulate his famous *Verfremdungseffekt*, which could already be seen in the work of Meyerhold. Meyerhold himself was so impressed by the performance that he dedicated his next production, Griboedov's *Woe to Wit* to Mei Lan-Fang, and included aspects of Chinese theatrical folklore[45]. A.C Scott records that after the performances, at a public meeeting, Meyerhold spoke of the technique of Mei Lan-Fang's art.[46]

Mei Lan-Fang appears in *The Mask* as early as 1927, probably before he even visited the west. Under the pseudonym C.G. Smith, Craig writes:

A writer living in Pekin reports to an American periodical that there is a remarkable Chinese actor called Mei-Lan-Fang who performs, as did the Elizabethan, the principal female roles. He writes of this young actor that he deserves all his fame, and proceeds to tell us something (by now quite familiar to us); *i.e.* that the conventions of the Chinese Theatre are much like the Elizabethan,- scenes, make-believe and all. '*It is necessary only to walk about a little and to go out by the left hand door and reappear immediately afterwards through the right hand door to make it clear to the spectators that the scene is changed*'.[47]

After correcting the 'writer living in Pekin' by giving another name for the actor ('Mri-Ran-Fan according to Miss Zoe Kincaid), Craig uses the example of Mei Lan-Fang to attack western actors. He claims that all the other arts of the stage have developed to make up for the

inability of actors. For Craig acting in itself for the western actor is no longer an art. He continues:

> Let him but show us that he is able to do this - to act a scene into existence, and will not Appia, will not Roerich, will not Stern and the shade of Bakst rejoice, and go into the stalls and forget all their old non-sense and enjoy the immense spectacle - the actor alive again.[48]

It is interesting that Craig does not mention himself here. This is because he does not consider himself to be merely a stage designer. As the 'Artist of the Theatre' he fulfils the role of both designer and actor, through his *Ubermarionette*. The main conclusion he wants to arrive at is that 'the actor is more or less dead'. As such he can be substituted by a marionette.

The example of Mei Lan-Fang is not used to inspire or explore the possibility of new expressive modes. There is no analysis of the actual acting style. He is used by Craig as something static, as a glorious Eastern figure out of a grand tradition with whom Craig can once again criticize the western actor. He ends his article:

> Let these artists but leave him, and unpropped he will fall to the ground; for he has no longer the knowledge of what it means *to act*. Perhaps the Chinese stage can instruct and convince him where he lacks knowledge and faith. Who is there who will not be ready to welcome the true actors the day they appear strong at all points.[49]

Craig seems well informed, but is still unable to utilize his exposure to Oriental theatrical modes systematically towards the formulation of his own theory. Craig once called Meyerhold 'a technical artist of immense ability'. The term 'technical' used by

Craig always has a modern, hence derogatory ring to it. He wrote in an article in 1930:

> London may expect to be told through the press how all theatre ideas came streaming from Russia, and that Moscow is the very cradle of ideas. Believe me, London need not bother to believe this... The talent of the Russian is great, but it is the talent for annexation of ideas... to which he then applies his technique.[50]

Application of technique, assim ilation, are not according to Craig part of the creative process. Had he been able to show a 'talent for annexation' towards the theatre of the Orient his *Ubermarionette*, at least, might have taken a more concrete shape. Lacking a *technology* for his art he does not have the tools with which to do this. Like Mary Shelley's Romantic creation, Craig's *Ubermarionette* risks the danger of turning into a monster or a ghost.

Although *The Mask* is very much aware of Orientalism as a distinct movement of the period in the visual and performing arts, Craig's own Orientalism is of a more theoretical nature, helping him form his own views on the art of the theatre. He does not produce clearly Orientalist works like Diaghilev's *Scheherazade* or Reinhardts's *Sumurun*. Indeed European Orientalism as a modern style, as a trend is severely criticized in *The Mask*. The Orient for Craig is something that is too sacred to yet the new style, as happened in areas ranging from fine art to popular fashion.

Craig's Orientalism is very different from Diaghilev's in *Scheherazade* and Reinhardts's *Sumurun*. Both these productions rely on

Western reconstructions of the Orient. The Orient appears as a theme, as a style in general, not as a theatrical reference (in the case of *Scheherazade* this would be inconceivable as Islam has virtually no theatrical tradition other than shadow puppets). *Scheherazade* and *Sumurun* utilize the Oriental myth of despotism, hedonism and decadence, projecting an image of the Orient as Europe's *other*, but rely very little on Oriental theatrical modes as such. Craig understands this as imitation, which is his main criticism against the Russian Ballets:

> Imitating to perfection is certainly a talent and it is this special talent which is possessed by the Russians. They derive it from the far East.
> And in the Russian theatre this talent has been so cleverly employed that it has thoroughly dazzled Europeans and Americans.[51]

Against Reinhardt Craig launches his usual attack:

> Everyone here is speaking of 'Sumurun', the Pantomime brought over by Professor Reinhardt from Berlin.
> Of course the production is as Mr Paul Konody, writing in the Daily Mail, rightly points out, 'merely the latest development of the stage reform initiated by Mr Gordon Craig'.[52]

In 1914 a production of a mock Chinese play, *The Yellow Jacket*, appeared in London. This was exactly the type of Orientalism that outraged Craig. He thought it to be ridiculing a grand style. Besides he knew his facts well enough to realize that the common understanding of Oriental theatrical modes was completely mistaken:

> London has recently been interested in a chinese play, The Yellow Jacket, in which the leading actor takes the part of the property man in a trice, follows the actors and relieves them of their properties, and throughout the play assumes an air of unconcern and indifference, as though he were not part and parcel of the performance and had no

interest in the character.
But this English property man is quite contrary to ideas held regarding him in China or Japan. He has been the central figure of the play and has quite eclipsed the real actors who interpreted the story. Thus he has produced an effect which is quite opposite to that intended on the stages of the East.[53]

It is interesting to note that Craig corrects the London production with reference to the property man. It is on a theoretical level that it is important to him that the west has a true picture of Oriental theatre, since it is this he uses to justify his own role as 'Artist of the Theatre'.

CHAPTER VI

THE COMMEDIA DELL'ARTE IN *THE MASK*

6. 1. The Commedia dell'Arte as Inspiration.

Just as the Arts and Crafts background provided *The Mask* with the ideal aesthetic setting, placing it in the tradition of the *book beautiful*, the Commedia dell'Arte, possibly more than any other feature of the periodical, gives shape to its performative quality. The Italian theatre of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth century acts as the perfect historical reference for Craigian notions of theatricality. At the same time, the chameleon-like quality of the Commedia provides *The Mask* with a paradigm for narration. Craig's use of pseudonyms and his creation of fixed 'characters' for each one, his own discourse which fuses the historical with the whimsical, his suspicion of ideas of authenticity' can be read as a Commedia-type outlook desperately trying to take shape on the pages of a magazine. The title of the periodical itself simultaneously comments on the Commedia as a distinct theatrical mode and also uses it as a mode of presentation. Commedia notions of theatricality help the magazine to present itself, to act as a stage for the various Craigian *masks*.

Like his Modernist contemporaries (Meyerhold, Copeau, Diaghilev), Craig saw in the Commedia an ultimate remedy to the damage done to the theatre through Naturalism. With its ambivalent relationship to the written text, its emphasis on improvisation, its *lazzi*, and its

apotheosis of the notion of performance, the Commedia helped re-shape Modernist ideas of theatricality. The Commedia presented one more instance of an oral and popular tradition which provided ready-made forms that could accommodate much of Modernist theatrical experimentation. Either elevating this oral tradition, turning it into 'high art', or discovering in it the locus of the ever-popular - hence revolutionary - the Modernist schools of theatre practice found in the Commedia yet another mode they could appropriate. For *The Mask*, the Commedia offered a language of theatricality that, combined with Craigain theories, could generate the desired renaissance of the stage. Craig writes in *The Mask* in an article entitled 'The Commedia dell'Arte Ascending', seeing, as early as 1912, a possible model for his theatre:

> How much has been written about this wonderful attempt to raise Theatricals to a higher state... to lift them from interpretative into creative realms. And how much more will have to be written, and that before long on this plucky attempt. No one fails to understand that in the Commedia dell'Arte the Italians of the late 16th century gave to future generations a hint as to the possibilities of the Art of the Theatre. The hint was never taken by those of the subsequent centuries.[2]

The Mask definitely takes the hint and presents itself as the continuation of the Commedia tradition, both in its content and in its form.

For Craig, unlike his Modernist colleagues, the Commedia not only presented a point of historical and theatrical reference but, more importantly, a clear set of historical facts. For most Modernist theoreticians of the theatre the Commedia was fundamentally an oral

tradition and as such very difficult to codify and register. As a result it became a reference, an allusion, at most used to recall the defiant and anarchic nature of carnivalesque, popular performance modes. It became a type of raw material that, like Oriental theatre, could be remoulded and appropriated according to one's views on theatre and the world in general. Schoenberg's *Pierrot Lunaire* acts as a fine example of a Commedia-based or a Commediaesque piece where the relationship is one of influence and reference - even between genres - with most of the appropriations remaining of a highly Romantic/Symbolist order. A play like Mayakovsky's *Mystery-Bouffe* (1918), staged by Meyerhold, applies the Commedia to a more Constructivist framework. For *The Mask* the relationship with the Commedia is of a very different order. For Craig, living and working in Italy, the Commedia was a very real fact, not merely a reconstructed one. He probably had more access to authentic, unpublished material on the Commedia than any other European director of the period. Indeed, *The Mask,* from the very early issues, promises to provide its readers with rich material on the Commedia and never fails to do so throughout all of its issues. 'John Semar' writes in an editorial of 1910:

> Until now *The Mask* has had only a few words to say about the Commedia dell'Arte, that powerful development of the theatrical art which has done more credit to the stage than any later development, yet which was unable to survive Molière's friendship; but now we publish all we can collect upon this subject... and in trying, to collect together all that is to be said about this vivid renaissance of the theatrical art, we do so, not for its value from an antiquarian point of view, considerable though that may be, but for its value to the sincere student of the future.[3]

With missionary zeal *The Mask* sets out to rediscover the Commedia and exclusively present it to its readers. The material covered is indeed impressive as Craig and his secretary Dorothy Nevile Lees roam through libraries in Florence, Venice and Rome discovering old manuscripts and reference books on the Commedia. Many of the articles constitute the first English translations. In this, the role of Dorothy Nevile Lees in *The Mask's* Commedia project is vital, as she was herself an Italian scholar who did most, if not all, of the translations and whose expertise Craig badly needed. As usual though, he pays her little or no acknowledgement. It is significant that most of the articles translated from seventeenth and eighteenth century manuscripts appear unsigned. At the same time Craig congratulates himself in a letter to the editor Semar:

My dear Semar,
How well you are doing to print in *The Mask* for the younger generation the facts about the Commedia dell'Arte; your translations from the Italian are great blessings. I feel sure that the few students for whom they are published will not fail to express their gratitude. Signor Scherillo's articles have given me great pleasure and the Biographical Notes are very valuable.[4]

Whether acknowledging the role of Dorothy Nevile Lees or not, *The Mask* is full of her translations and introductions. At a time when scholarship on the Commedia in English was limited, *The Mask* proves to be a vital source book for the Italian improvised theatre. It is Craig's most comprehensive study of any aspect of theatre history. *The Mask* also presents reviews of most books on the Commedia of the period. Its main sources, though, remain the manuscripts and leaflets that Craig discovered, and in this field most of the work is

pioneering. The Signor Scherillo mentioned above is only one of the Italian scholars whose work on the Commedia appears in *The Mask*. It is not only Italian academics but editors of Italian magazines that contribute to *The Mask's* Commedia campaign. Craig had access to a whole aspect of the Commedia which remained essentially 'other' for the rest of European Modernism. For him the Commedia was more than a convenient metaphor of theatricality; it was something which presented itself as historically concrete and knowable. As such he set out to master it through the pages of *The Mask*.

In shaping the actual physical appearance of *The Mask*, the Commedia is the form that gives it its highly performative quality. Unlike the magazines of the Arts and Crafts Movement or the late aestheticist 1890s, *The Mask* does not use the Commedia in the late Romantic mode, filtered mostly through French interpretations. Although *The Mask* springs from the same tradition in the production of the *magazine beautiful*, it nevertheless chooses to use the Commedia in quite a different way. *The Savoy*, *The Dial*, *The Studio*, and mostly *The Yellow Book* all employ Commedia-type illustrations, that refer mainly to the late Romantic and chiefly French readings of particular Commedia characters - characters that have become almost independent from their Italian roots (see Beardsley's illustrations for *The Yellow Book* and more especially for *The Pierrot of the Minute*). Craig is less interested in the Romantic or decadent Symbolist appropriations of particular Commedia characters. For him the Commedia constitutes a theatrical tradition with a very specific set of theatrical conventions, ones he applies in not only shaping his notion of the

'Art of the Theatre', but in writing, editing and printing a periodical. Gone are the moonstruck Commediaesque figures that appeared in the 1890s journals. *The Mask* is full of reproductions of original prints, showing Commedia characters, performances, costume design etc. (An example of this is the Frontispiece: *A Grotesque Arlecchino's Mask* printed in *The Mask* in 1910). And Craig is indeed proud when he announces to his readers information such as: 'reproduced from an old engraving hitherto unpublished in the possession of Signor Villoressi of Florence'[5]. He finds printed Commedia scenarios and publishes them in their first English translation in *The Mask*. (The first of these appears as early as 1911 and the last in 1914). In terms of content, no other contemporary arts periodical can boast such a rich coverage of Commedia history and bibliography. Few scholarly works of the period compare with the very comprehensive study *The Mask* offers its readers. None though has appropriated the spirit of the Commedia so creatively in its very narrative and discourse. The Commedia provides Craig with the ultimate mask behind which he can edit, write and direct possibly his most successful and certainly his longest running performance: *The Mask*.

6.2. *The Mask* as a Source for Commedia Scholarship.

With a wealth of primary and secondary sources available to him, Craig set out to codify what was no less than a comprehensive study of the history of the Commedia dell'Arte. He writes in 1912:

In my spare moments of the last year I filled a little book with a mass of *facts* relating to the Commedia dell'Arte which I hope shortly

to publish. I felt such a book had to be made if one wished to get a clearer idea of this amazing Drama, because the theatrical historians carried away by their enthusiasm for the subject have been too liberal ... 'Perhaps' and 'In my opinion' and 'It is likely that' is charming, but not history.[6]

Such a book was never, of course, written. Instead he gathered all the information he found in *The Mask*. His main sources can be divided into three broad categories: a) studies on the Commedia, mainly in Italian and French from the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; b) contemporary studies on the Commedia, which are reviewed thoroughly; and c) manuscripts and prints he discovered in Italain libraries. Most of the material presented appears in its first English translation (apart from a few contemporary studies originally in English), as few source books on the Commedia existed in English before the beginning of the twentieth century.

One of the studies which proved most useful to *The Mask*'s Commedia presentation was Andrea Perrucci's *Dell'Arte Rappresentativa, Premeditata ed All'improvviso*. Written in 1699 in Naples it is one of the earliest printed documents on the Commedia. From Perrucci he chooses the extract on the roles of the *Corago*, the *Director* and the *Manager*. The translation reads:

The *Corago*, manager or most experienced of the company, should plan out the subject before it is acted, so that one may know the contents of the Comedy, understand where the speeches are to end and diligently study the addition of some new quips and Lazzi.
The *Director* then goes on pointing out and explaining the Lazzi and the plot.
Let all the actors he gathered to listen, and let them not trust to knowing by heart, or having previously acted, that Comedy; because it might happen that different *Managers* would arrange the plot differently and that the names and places might be different.[7]

With its emphasis on improvisation and virtuoso acting, the Commedia can be understood as a quintessentially *actor's theatre*. Craig very quickly corrects that notion by asserting his own role as 'Artist of the Theatre', one that combines the qualities of the *Corago*, the *Director* and the *Manager*.

From another vital source book *L'Histoire du Théâtre Italien* (1728) written by Luigi Riccoboni, who was initially a Commedia actor, *The Mask* explains what the *lazzi* of the Commedia are:

> We call *Lazzi* that which Harlequins or the other masked actors do in the middle of a scene to interrupt it either by expressing fear or by making jokes which have no connection with the subject of the play and to which they are constantly obliged to resort. So it is these superfluities suggested to the actor by his own genius on the spur of the moment which the Italian comic actors call *Lazzi*.[8]

Riccoboni is vital for Craig: he refers to him often and publishes a bibliography of his works in *The Mask*[9]. Two other studies which are referred to in *The Mask* are: Evaristo Gherardi's *Le Théâtre Italien* (1714), and Luigi Rasi's *I Comici italiani. Biografia, Bibliografia, Iconografia* (1897-1905). These texts, different in their historical orientation and academic approach, nevertheless comprise for *The Mask* key source books for information on the Commedia. The Mask publishes Dorothy Nevile Lee's[5] translation of Gherardi's introduction to his book, and Craig comments on it:

> Among the most delightful as well as the most useful books for the student of the Italian Improvised Commedia dell'Arte is undoubtedly *Le Théâtre Italien* by Evaristo Gherardi. Indeed (according to Professor Rasi) it is, with the exception of the Scenarios of Flaminio Scala, the most important of all for the history of the Italian actors.[10]

Professor Rasi's book is almost contemporary with *The Mask*. A contributor and advisor to Craig, he forms part of a group of Italian scholars who write in *The Mask* on the Commedia, or whose work(with their permission) Craig reprints there. Of *I Comici Italiani* Craig writes:

We are glad to have been the first to introduce this remarkable work to English readers, grateful for the information it has given us, happy to seize the opportunity of publicly expressing to Professor Rasi our appreciation of and gratitude for several little services which he, so rich in knowledge of, as well as in objects of historical value relating to the Commedia dell'Arte has rendered to *The Mask* in its preparation of the numbers which it has especially devoted to that most interesting phase of the Italian Theatre.''

Dr Michele Scherillo is another Italian scholar to appear in the pages of *The Mask*. Not only did *La commedia dell'arte in Italia* (1884) prove useful but he also wrote regular contributions on the Commedia especially for *The Mask*[12]. Cesare Levi, the author of *Rivista Teatrale Italiana*, published in 1912, also wrote Commedia articles for the periodical. His major contribution, though, was his translation of a scenario published for the first time in English in *The Mask*[13].

As part of his research into the history of the Commedia, Craig presents readers of *The Mask* with four Commedia scenarios. Two of these - *The Three Princes of Salerno* and *The Four Lunatics* - he found in Adolfo Bartoli's *Scenari Inediti Della Commedia Dell'Arte Contributo Alla Storia Del Teatro Popolare Italiano* (1880). (Although Craig does not acknowledge the source we know he was aware of the Bartoli collection as he refers to it elsewhere in *The Mask*. It was

also conveniently published in Florence[14]. The translation of these scenarios is probably Dorothy Nevile Lees's but this is unfortunately not stated. Two more scenarios Craig reprints from C.Levi's *Rivista Teatrale Italiana: The Betrayed* and *The Roguish Tricks of Coviello*. The *Coviello* scenario is translated for *The Mask* by Dr. Levi himself (see Appendix A).

To this team of experts Craig adds Umberto Fracchia[15], himself an editor of a periodical called *Comoedia*, and the picture is complete. No other project undertaken by *The Mask* was ever so democratically distributed among experts other than Craig. If we add to this quite impressive endeavour Craig's own Commedia studies we have a mass of material, whether original, re-printed or translated, that makes *The Mask* a formidable authority on the Commedia dell'Arte for its period.

Though for Craig the Commedia presented the perfect paradigm for his own theories on the 'Art of the Theatre', it had another level of appeal: it was a field in which he could excel at the expense of his English colleagues. Having abandoned England to live and work in Italy he nevertheless strongly felt the need to constantly teach his countrymen a lesson for having ignored his creative abilities. This love/hate relationship finds fruitful ground in the study of the Commedia. Most of it is virgin ground to the English audience, and Craig can present himself as the new apostle who has brought to light a wonderful remedy that can revive the theatre. He takes particular pleasure in correcting English scholars on facts about the Commedia. In a review of Enid Welsford's *The Court Masque* he writes, in one of

the last issues of *The Mask* (1928):

> Were I an influence in Oxford or Cambridge (this book comes from Cambridge) I would counsel young men and women always to avoid attempting a big work on a subject covering several nations, thousands of persons and a couple of centuries. I would suggest that to take the life's work of a Laniere or a family like the Parigi or a group like the Gelosi was quite sufficiently difficult, and really valuable to their fellow-students and even to the wisest professors. I feel students who have learned so much from these big men should dedicate a year or two of their time to at least one small subject such as I have indicated, as a return for all things received from these masters... But I am always saying this. I wonder if anyone is listening.[16]

Educating the English audience in particular about the Commedia is one of the roles assigned to *The Mask*. Craig is interested in drawing parallels between the Commedia and the Shakespearean stage. He treats his audience as if they believed that theatre began with Shakespeare. Whether this was the prevailing attitude of the English stage at the time or not is of little consequence, as it triggers one of Craig's most extensive studies in *The Mask*. In an article/leaflet entitled 'The Pre-Shakespearean Stage' he maps out the most important happenings regarding the Commedia of the sixteenth century together with the most important aspects of the English stage of the same period. 'John Semar' introduces his study:

> We have not found any such list as this elsewhere. Probably no one has considered it worth while to compile one. We, however, think differently, and in subsequent pages we shall give some of our reasons for so thinking, and shall explain why we wish to draw the serious attention of students of the theatre to that great Pre-Shakespearean period which the historians, for the most part, skim lightly over in their eagerness to arrive at Shakespeare himself, and the Elizabethan stage.[17]

In a detailed account that follows, Craig traces the history of the famous Commedia companies *I Gelosi* and *I Confidenti; the most important Italian plays of the sixteenth century*; and the most important events of the English stage at the time. It is characteristic that Shakespeare is initially mentioned as 'adapting old plays'. Inigo Jones's travels throughout Italy are recorded. The emphasis, though, is on the lives and times of Commedia actors. In presenting this account of 'the century that gave Shakespeare birth', Craig mainly wants to :

> ... show that there were men at work in the Theatre long before Shakespeare; they show that that Shakespearean Theatre over which Mr. William Poel and Mr. Allbright and their confreres enthuse as the very apotheosis of the history of the theatre was, in truth, but the dying close of a glorious day and that it was more in its quality as the 'setting sun and music at its close' that it was 'writ in remembrance more than things long past' than for its own intrinsic glory: that it marked, in fact, already a period, not of development, but of decline.[18]

The Mask's ambivalent relationship with the work of Shakespeare running throughout *The Mask* is quite clear from the above[19]. Craig acknowledges Shakespeare as a great playwright, but that quality itself goes against his beliefs on the 'Art of the Theatre'. With the Commedia he did not have to face such problems. Virtually authorless, relying on improvisations based on set scenarios, it presents no threat for Craig and offers him a scheme that can artistically accomodate his 'Artist of the Theatre'. The playwright for Craig is seen as 'the source of all evil' in the theatre. Shakespeare, despite all his greatness, is somehow seen as the epitome of the written play tradition. What this particular study of Craig's sets out to prove is

the there *were* 'men working in the theatre before Shakespeare' but they were not playwrights. In a neat and simplistic pattern that sees written drama springing directly from the oral tradition Craig explains:

> But we suspect that these written plays upon which the later actors depended were really at the outset composed by the actors themselves and only written down afterwards by scribes... not the whole but parts of them; so that by degrees a play, originally a living thing varying from night to night with the humour of the players, became stereotyped into one permanent form, and the living tree of the actors' invention slowly petrified into the fossil which future generations could discuss, study, and pass from hand to hand.[20]

In shaping a theory of performance for the theatre, the Commedia dell'Arte, possibly more than any other genre in theatre history, offers Craig a model that is authorless. At the same time though, it gives rise to the actor. Based on his/her abilities for improvisation and reworking of scenarios, the Commedia is arguably the ultimate actor's theatre. Most of the collections of scenarios were written by actors who, having acted in them for a number of years, later recorded them. Craig mentions such actors-cum-scenarists with brief biographical notes[21]. The most important collection of this type and the first to appear is Flaminio Scala's *Il Teatro delle Favole Rappresentative* (1611) which Craig had access to, and which was not published in English until 1967. These Commedia scenarios look more like a director's note-books on a performance, rather than conventionally written play-scripts. Craig quotes Riccoboni on Scala's collection: 'they only explain what the actor must do on the stage, and the actions of the play, and nothing more'. It is this 'nothing more' aspect of the Commedia scenario that Craig finds appealing. The

fact that it also gives considerable creative power to the actor does not seem to bother him. He writes:

> Whether the inventors were peasants or actors or both is immaterial. The point has not been decided; but it has been very clearly decided and recorded that they were not *play-writers*. Is it possible? Can a Drama which holds the stage for two centuries be created without the assistance of the literary man? It can. Then if it can be created once it can be created twice? It can.[22]

It is chiefly this aspect of the Commedia, as a model for an authorless performance, that Craig appropriates in his scheme of the 'Art of the Theatre'. He is also aware, though, of the influence the Commedia had on the written drama of Europe. Molière is seen as an intruder who borrows shamelessly from the Commedia. Craig quotes from Tiraboschi's *Storia della Literatura Italiana*:

> Molière has made so much use of the Italian comic writers, that, were we to take from him all that he has taken from others, the volumes of his comedies would be very much reduced in bulk.[23]

Craig's presentation of Molière[24] is not as flippant as the above quotation may read. Cesare Levi, the Italian Commedia scholar, also writes in *The Mask* on the influence of Commedia masks on Molière characters[25]. Nevertheless when he has to make a point Craig is definitely biased towards the oral Commedia tradition in performance. His rhetoric, contradictory in places, seems to polarize themes and issues that coexist harmoniously in other parts of the periodical. In the Commedia Craig finds one of his few allies. It is a type of theatre that he can totally accept without compromising his own beliefs. As such, he feels he must defend it against the literary drama.

6.3. The Commedia Actor and the *Ubermarionette*.

The Commedia dell'Arte was chiefly an actors' theatre. It took particular delight in highlighting the ingenuity, the skill and the grace of improvisation. Based on virtuoso acting, the Commedia allowed the actors to indulge in the mechanics of their technique, the whole process of acting itself was part of the performance; the audience was asked not only to follow the story being told but also to admire the actors' skills. This meta-theatrical quality of the Commedia actor is what appealed to Modernist stage directors like Meyerhold. Craig's understanding and use of the Commedia actor, like other ideas he re-works, is not as straightforward.

On one level it may seem totally incongruous with Craig's general theories on the 'Art of the Theatre'. Craig theoretically accomodates the role of the actor with his concept of the *Ubermarionette;* a mechanical device that would be the sole interpreter of the director's 'genius'. Apart from a few notes on monodrama written while he was working on the Moscow *Hamlet* project, his theories have little space for ideas and formulations on acting as a creative process. Fighting certain aspects of the old actor-manager system and defining his own role as the all-powerful director left no room for theories on acting. For Craig the actor/star, as a creative entity, bore almost as much responsibility for the decline in the theatre as the playwright. In this scheme of things it appears highly unlikely that Craig would find in the Commedia actor a prototype of any sort; least of all for his *Ubermarionette*.

Yet for Craig the Commedia actor appeared as the perfect example of a highly disciplined, well trained actor. The Commedia's emphasis on non-psychological, stereotypical portrayal gave rise to the notion of technique as part of the creative process. Indeed technique was fetishized as it became one of the main source of pleasure for the audience. It is this non-psychological, stylized acting with its emphasis on the physical that Craig saw as analogous to his *Ubermarionette*. In the Commedia actor Craig saw a type of primitive *Ubermarionette*. Free from the constraints of a written text, technically trained to perfection and assisted by the fixed face of the mask, all the Commedia actor *really* needed to turn into its modern equivalent the *Ubermarionette* was the 'genius' of the 'Artist of the Theatre' to provide coherence and inspire creative force into the otherwise highly trained body/form.

Throughout *The Mask* Craig prints considerable material on the Commedia actor. Again Dorothy Nevile Lees is the main translator of most of the original material. This consists of biographies of major Commedia actors, lists of the performances and essays on acting. Craig's main argument for praising the Commedia actors is that he believes that the Commedia actor was a 'creative actor'. He writes introducing a rare book by Barbieri:

> The reproduction of this rare leaf has been put here so that any actors or critics curious to have proof of the truth of what we have been asserting since 1908, can have it here.
>
> Between 1500-1900 it was the custom for all good actors to create.... But I will give you two extracts, and also the names of a few of the most famous actors in Italy, who most assuredly *created* their plays, inventing the dialogue and the action of the plays, led by acapo-comico, or head-actor.[26]

The extracts themselves are from Evaristo Gherardi and Riccoboni[27] and stress the importance of improvisation. Improvisation itself seems to contradict Craig's *Ubermarionette* theory. The fixed gesture of a mechanized object on the one hand, and the total fluidity of the human form on the other appear to be utterly conflicting. However, what Craig discerned behind the principle of improvisation was a very strict and rigorous training procedure, which theoretically could render the actor free from psychology and interpretation. The philosophy of the actual Commedia masks which gave them the power to not only hide identity but, to also create a new theatrical one also contributed to a form of improvised theatre that was, at the same time, highly structured and fixed. Having in this sense 'broken' or 'freed' the human form it could in turn transform into an *Ubermarionette*. On another level, raising the principle of improvisation to artistic heights gave Craig yet another chance to attack the Englsh star-system. He writes:

> Still something must be said for these antagonists of improvisation who dwell in England. They are frightened; they fear to encourage the principle lest a mere imitation be offered the public and accepted as the real article. They dread that something 'artistic' might be let loose and they prefer the 'theatrical'. So do we all. But what a strange place is England where the good words 'artistic' and 'theatrical' have become terms of derision used by artists and theatrical people.[28]

Improvisation becomes yet another key term in Craig's attack on the English theatrical tradition. For him it was the ultimate safety-valve that protected theatre from the mena cing powers of the playwright. As long as virtuoso acting could help create the final performance, the authority of the playwright seemed to be limited. Craig's fascination

with Irving seems understandable in this context. For him, Irving was an example of a highly skilled actor, who, combined with his quality as a manager, stood against the power of the playwright. Irving's mannered and stylized acting was seen by Craig as a form of improvisation. Improvisation itself is seen as the sometimes 'raw', but always effective corrective to the literary theatre. He writes:

> I hope that no one will commence *writing plays* for Pierrot and Columbine and Puncinella for a written play is an absurd thing and a dead thing into the bargain.
> One dreads to think what sweet stuff a minor or even a major poet would fashion out of these masked giants that strode across the centuries for a while, helping Shakespeare, suckling Molière, creating Goldoni and being driven away from the haunts of man by the ungrateful children they had reared.[29]

What Craig rightly sees is that the Commedia was essentially an *acting* tradition with improvisation as its main theatrical convention. In this context, possibly the only one in *The Mask* that allows for it, he concerns himself with actors and acting. The Commedia actor becomes an idealized figure, graced with a mixture of ingenuity and innocence. What the Commedia actor represents for Craig is chiefly the embodiment of the notion of skill and technique; both qualities that could be filtered and used by his 'Artist of the Theatre'. What Irving represented for the theatre of the present, the Commedia actor represented for the theatre of the past. Craig's aim was to somehow fuse these very different traditions through the creation of his *Ubermarionette*.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find much material in *The Mask* devoted to the Commedia actor. Biographies of actors translated

by Dorothy Nevile Lees appear throughout its issues. The history of the famous companies *I Gelosi* and *I Confidenti* is meticulously presented. Craig himself searches libraries in Italy for rare documents referring to Commedia actors. Such a document is one entitled *An Actor's Petition* signed by the company of the *Comici Confidenti*[30]. It is a plea dated June 25th 1574, asking 'his Catholic Majesty' to drop charges of theft, that had been made against one of the actors. Craig identifies the writer of the petition as one Battista da Rimino, with the help of Luigi Rasi's *Comici Italiani*. His main interest lies in the fact that through the discovery of such documents he can trace the history of the Commedia companies. He ends the article by stating that 'the famous Company of the *Confidenti* would be shown by this letter to have been during that year in Cremona, Pavia and Milano'.[31]

In the same spirit *The Mask* publishes Riccoboni's *Advice to Actors,* translated and introduced, with a biographical note, by 'Pierre Rames'. The article summarizes the main ideas in Riccoboni's essay:

The author gives his advice in metrical form, using that same 'Terza Rima' as Dante used for the 'Divina Commedia', and dividing the aurgument into six cantos:
- The need for the study of nature.
- Physical qualifications
- Gesture
- The trivial to be avoided
- Facial expression
- The voice
- Silence.[32]

Together with a bibliography of the work of Riccoboni[33] the article 'contains much which is well worth the serious consideration of the actor today'.

In general, when referring to the Commedia actor Craig has nothing less than words of praise. He goes to great lengths to find documentation to support his views; something not very typical of Craigian discourse.

The history of the Commedia is mainly the history of the lives of the great actors and their companies. Craig is very much aware of this fact and apart from presenting his readers with accounts of the famous Commedia companies (I Gelosi, I Confidenti) he also sketches out the lives and times of renowned Commedia actors, that helped shape the improvised theatre of the late sixteenth century[34] . What Craig does not seem to be interested in are the transformations the Commedia underwent as it was filtered through the various European stages, mainly the French. Craig's concerns are with the Italian life of the Commedia. The role of the Commedia as a chief influence on the European literary drama of the late seventeenth and mid-eighteenth century is seen by Craig as yet another invasion of the sophisticated, written tradition upon the somehow raw, naive but, authentic oral tradition in the theatre. In a scheme that simplifies and polarizes an otherwise very complicated and interesting process of re-writing and appropriation, Craig speaks of Molière and Goldoni as 'intruders':

We have not the same veneration for the great masters of the *written* drama that we ought to have, but we know too much about their methods

of obtaining renown to be very enthusiastic about them. When the true theatre receives the acknowledgment due to it, when actors shall have come to their senses after learning that they have been *bought* by these same methods of the dramatic writers, when theatres shall be erected to harbour the true theatrical expression, then we shall not be unmindful of the value of these writers of drama have been to us; but till then we look upon them one and all as intruders, who have proved dangerous to the very life of the stage and who have brought it to the lowest level of dependence that independence dare ever sink to.[35]

Here Craig is not just mounting one of his general attacks against the playwrights' theatre but he is specifically talking about Molière and Goldoni. This sheds some light on the fact that he is not at all interested in any ramifications of the role of the actor apart from the model of the Commedia actor. For Craig, Molière and Goldoni are responsible for somehow depriving the actor of his/her creative powers. Goldoni and Molière are seen as betraying the Commedia tradition mainly by depriving their actors of masks, and, in doing so, starting the process of three-dimensionalising and psychologising them. Substituting the literary script for the mask is seen by Craig as possibly the greatest betrayal of all. He says that they 'have been bought by these same methods'. In re-writing Commedia characters, three-dimensionalising them and placing them in a more classical literary tradition, Molière and Goldoni are seen as distorting the true spirit of the Commedia; in the process the role of the actor, according to Craig, changes from artistic creator to mere interpreter.

In this context it is not surprising that the European transformations of the Commedia leave Craig totally indifferent. The one bright exception is *The Mask's* account of the great actor-mime Jean-Gaspard Debureau. Debureau's reshaping of Pierrot was the aspect

of the Commedia that enraptured the Romantic imagination of the mid-nineteenth century. As Robert F. Storey writes:

> This actor has often and justly been acknowledged as the godparent of the multifarious, moonstruck Pierrots who gradually found their way into Romantic, and Symbolist literature; but Debureau's real role in the transmission of the type from the popular to the literary world - and in its transformation from the *naif* to neurasthenic pariah - has been only imperfectly understood, when it has been understood at all. To chart the development of Pierrot's character in the nineteenth century, we must, therefore, follow the career of this actor quite closely.[36]

Craig does not present his readers with such an account mainly because his project is of a very different nature. He is not interested in the literary and metaphorical dimension of the Commedia. His main goal is to chart a history of the Commedia as a *theatrical mode*, through the lives and times of Commedia actors. In the 1914 issue of *The Mask* he prints an abstact from the little known, to English readers, *Souvenirs des Funambules* by Jules Champfleury. This is translated and introduced by Dorothy Nevile Lees (as Pierre Rames). The article itself deals with the life of Debureau. For Craig the various transformations of the Commedia outside its Italian context remain interesting and useful as long as they are 'of the theatre', and Debureau is seen as such a pure child of the theatre. Quoting from Champfleury the aricle in *The Mask* ends with the epitaph:

> The costume of Pierrot was white.
> His shroud is white.
>
> Debureau passed his life on the boards.
> He rests peacefully between the boards.[37]

Nowhere else in *The Mask* or indeed in Craigian thought in general (apart from his homage to Irving, who he sees as more than an actor)is

there so much space devoted to the actor. Incongruous as this may seem in view of Craig's theories of the *Ubermarionette* and the all-powerful director, the Commedia actor - masked, highly skilled and almost mechanized - is the one model of acting which he totally adheres to, studies meticulously and presents to his readers with an all consuming reverence.

6.4. Review of Contemporary Publications on the Commedia in *The Mask*.

Any detailed scholarly study of the Commedia, and any claim on behalf of *The Mask* to act as its main propagator to an English audience, would be incomplete without reference to the Commedia publications of the time. The Review section of the journal is one of its most important and integrated sections; it acts as yet one more platform for Craig's ideas. In addition to presenting new books, it also summarizes the main ideas and arguments running through that particular issue. Craig uses the Review section of *The Mask* to present new Commedia publications and to voice his views on them, exhibiting a high degree of sensitivity as he considered the Commedia to be chiefly his domain. Craig's reviews of Commedia publications provide him with yet another chance to mark out his space amongst his contemporaries. Either praising, correcting or slandering other publications, *The Mask* acts its role as the voice of authority on the Commedia dell'Arte (see appendix B).

6.5. The Commedia: Another Point of Conflict and Connection with Modernist Contemporaries / Another Model.

Like most of Craig's schemes, his Commedia project remained an *ideal*. The Commedia masks were for him the perfect model of the actor of the past and the *Ubermarionette* the *ideal* actor of the future. The intervening process that would have connected the two extremes of this spectrum was of no interest to him. The whole notion of 'process' as a creative act was foreign to Craig; in many ways it was too *modern*. Process implies reconstruction and appropriation, the application of a *technology* and finally *praxis*. As long as the Commedia mask and the *Ubermarionette* were fixed and polarized, the theoretical gap between the two could not have been bridged. No matter how studiously he studied the Commedia, it remained an *idealistic* abstraction; one that he could not apply to his own theories of acting. Lacking the *materialistic* notion of process, the lessons learnt from the Commedia theoretically could never have been put into practice. By the same token and almost by definition the *Ubermarionette* was *unrealizable*. What Craig's few designs of his *Ubermarionette* show is that it was really never meant to be realized; it was mainly an abstraction. Draped figures in stylized Romantic settings fixed in highly expressionist gestures are not what we would associate with a *modernist* and anti-humanist marionette replacing the human form on the stage. His citing of Irving as the ultimate *Ubermarionette* only reinforces this view. Despite his careful and almost life-long study of the Commedia, Craig never made the leap necessary to render the Commedia dynamic and applicable to his own theories. As a method of

training actors and channelling their creative activity on the stage, the Commedia could have taught the *Ubermarionette* a few lessons. The way the *Ubermarionette* was conceived though, as a closed and fixed system allowed little room for appropriation and adaptation.[38]

Meyerhold, in many ways Craig's Modernist contemporary, saw in the Commedia a system of training actors that he adapted to his own system of *Biomechanics*. Rather than conceive of an abstract mechanized device he set out to *mechanize* the human body. The Commedia actor for Meyerhold was the perfect example of what he termed the *dialectic actor*; an actor who, while portraying, also enunciated the process of acting. This was later to be used effectively by Brecht, carrying it a step further with his alienation devices. Unlike Craig though, Meyerhold did not study the Commedia as comprehensively. For him it was a useful mode which he neatly adjusted to his own theoretical and practical needs. For Craig the Commedia was something which he loved, admired and researched. Having outgrown the Romantic and literary metaphors of the Commedia, popular in England at the turn of the century, but not quite *modern* enough to re-write it according to his own needs the Commedia acts as yet another example of the conflicts and tensions in Craigian thought. This is only obvious in *The Mask*, as it provides a platform for many of the problematic areas in Craig's work, which in his books seem neatly resolved.

Most of all the Commedia was *The Mask's* quintessentially *Italian experience*. Unlike his study of Oriental theatre which had to be filtered through reconstructions and re-readings of others, Craig was

there, *The Mask* was *there*. This places the periodical in a unique position regarding the English and indeed the European stage of the period. The Commedia for Craig was something very concrete which he could research and register, and not something which was necessarily mythicized or exoticized. If anything, his account of the Commedia is a historical and scholarly one. This diminishing of the *otherness* of the Commedia may have limited its metaphorical quality which so entranced the decadent 1890s. At the same time, the lack of a *modernist technology* that would see the Commedia as a theatrical convention/device constrained its metonymical potential, so well applied by modernist stagecraft. What becomes very clear is that *The Mask* is free of *Commedia-ism*[39] in any form. Craig wears his most humble and respectful mask in his study of the Commedia; that of the eager and almost naive student who is bewildered with the discoveries he is making. He becomes very supportive of Italy and the Italian theatre against attitudes of the English press he considers patronising:

> To judge from some recent articles in *The Manchester Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph* people do not seem to realize in England that Italy is not a Museum or a Theatre, and that its Cities however superb, have no wish to crumble just to oblige the tourists and the archaeologists.
>
> It is because we somehow believe Venezia to belong to us,.. to be *our honeymoon spot*, *our* playground. And what are we? A nation of people more forward than any in praising speed, electricity, cinema, listening-in,... and we quickly produce a million pounds if promised a safe investment in something up-to-date and a curse to everyone.
> When Manchester can save one Theatre, and a grand old place like the Theatre Royal, it will be quite time enough for Manchester to lecture Venezia.[40]

If anything, the Commedia as part of Craig's Italian experience presented a safety-valve *against* the modern world and Modernism and

not something which could actually help shape it. This is why historical documentation became vital. This was a case of the theatre of the past recreating the theatre of the future - the modernist idea of the present destroying and recontructing the past according to its own needs turned inside out. The Commedia, for Craig, was an example of the 'great tradition of the past', which could rejuvenate the present. In Italy he could still find examples of the glorious tradition. In an article entitled 'The Theatres in Italy, Naples and Pompei', he writes:

> I was last night at Scarpetta's theatre; that *simpatico* theatre in Naples where all that is to be laughed at in and out of existence without a thought too much to oppress us. All the difference between this breed who give birth to laughter and the breed on the London stages whose cacklings even miscarry.
> Scarpetta exists and we know he is of flesh and blood. Shaw to me does not live, and is something other than flesh and blood. By the way, I ought to tell you who Scarpetta is.
> He is the author-actor of Naples... that is to say one of our few real dramatists. His Drama came into being by the grace of Improvisation, and as we know by now, this is the only way real drama can be born. All other dramas are made.....patchworks, ...not good woven stuffs.[41]

Despite his praise of this Neapolitan actor-author Craig does not really follow his example. (Stravinsky and Picasso, on the other hand used their visit to Scarpetta's theatre - at about the same time - as an influence on *Pulcinella* which they were creating for Diaghilev). Borrowing the conventions of the Commedia could have loosened much of the tension in his own work and opened new roads for him. Ideas such as the total lack of text and author that he advocates are never realized and remain problematic. In a true modernist tradition the relationship of text and performance is problematised but, never resolved. The Commedia scenario shaped by improvisation could have

provided Craig with a scheme, which did not require a playwright as such but, relied on the power of the director to reconstruct and interpret it.

The Commedia as a language of performance remains almost useless for Craig. Meta-theatrically, it presents yet another lost chance. Had he appropriated Commedia conventions in acting and staging, his *Ubermarionnette* may just have been realized. The Commedia is part of the 'glorious' tradition of the theatre of the past. The basic difference, though, compared with the way Craig approaches other such total theatres, is that his stance is not floating in a cloud of nostalgia and awe. Regarding the Commedia dell'Arte Craig is a scholar. With the precision of a historian he maps a history of the Italian theatre of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Although the Commedia offered Craig very little in terms of the scenic stage, it definitely offered him a language for that other main stage he was working on: *The Mask*. If *The Mask* is to be seen as a performance, then it has to be one without an author. Craig would have never approved of his one permanent stage being inhabited by a playwright. As a paradigm for writing a periodical/performance the Commedia helps Craig dispense with his author status. With the use of masks/pseudonyms he manages to make himself invisible as the playwright of this performance. At the same time the ideology of the Commedia with its playfulness and scorn of notions of authenticity and authority is something Craig includes in his rhetoric. Even though his readers are very much aware of who is hiding behind the masks, he

nevertheless continues to keep up the act for the 20 years of the periodical's publication[42]. Just like the Commedia actor who portrays a character and at the same time takes particular delight in exposing the process of deception to the audience, Craig shamelessly continues to 'pretend', to hide behind his numerous masks. Indeed, possibly more than any other aspect of the Commedia, it is the masks that interest him[43] (see Appendix C). There Craig not only finds a metaphor for the staging of *The Mask* but, a paradigm which manages to three-dimensionalized the pages of his journal and literally transform it into a stage.

CHAPTER VII

'GENTLEMEN, THE MARIONETTE'

If *The Mask* borrows its narrative strategies from Commedia-like notions of presentation and theatricality, in a scheme that creates a stage-like quality throughout its pages, then those pages are inhabited by equally theatrical and elusive 'characters': puppets. *The Mask* is literally peopled by puppets in all forms and from all possible backgrounds. Javanese and middle-eastern shadow-puppets, burattini, bunraku, Punch and Judy and fully-mechanised marionettes all feature. Their presentation is at the same time historical - which, like the studies in the Commedia dell'Arte, is a case of scholarly pioneering - and aesthetic. Puppets appear both as part of a glorious theatrical tradition and as a proposal for the theatre of the future. Like most Craigian obsessions, puppetry is presented in extremis. The puppet is not only seen as the perfect substitute for the living form on stage, contributing to a theory of acting, but it is presented as the ultimate art form itself. If theatre was to be the total art form, then the puppet would represent the total and absolute artifice. Indeed in the meta-theatrical drama which is being enacted throughout the pages of *The Mask* the puppet definitely surfaces as the visible *protagonist*. (Craig himself, of course, is the invisible *Uberprotagonist*). To the idealized Romantic legacy on puppets that Craig inherits from Kleist, Maeterlinck and Oscar Wilde, he adds his very meticulous and pragmatic study conducted through *The Mask*. From using puppets as a metaphor of the artifice he shifts to presenting

very detailed accounts of their origins and history. Like most of the projects undertaken by Craig a process of Romantic 'othering' is constantly undermined by an equally strong process of modernist 'demythicizing'.

The study of puppets in *The Mask*, like that of the Commedia dell'Arte, is the most systematic and comprehensive to appear in any magazine of the period. It is present and consistent throughout all its issues and indeed surpasses most of the scholarship of the period on the subject in English. Craig together with a team of academics and zealots, in general sets out to furnish both a history and a eulogy of puppets. The work of Walter Pater and Arthur Symons provides the aesthetic setting for the presentation of academic studies by Italian scholars like Ferrigni, Carlo Gozzi, Cesare Levi and Dorothy Nevile Lees.

In general the presentation of puppets in *The Mask*, both as theatrical mode and as historical fact, can fall under three main categories, through works that are presented in its pages; these works, in many ways, determine Craig's understanding of puppetry. The historical aspect is focused in a series of articles entitled 'History of Puppets', which ran through Volumes 3 to 9. These were by P. Ferrigni who, following Craig's example writes under a pseudonym: Yorick. In addition Craig himself writes historical articles. As for the aspect of theatrical theory, this appears mainly through Craig's own formulations on the nature and the role of

puppets. His essay on 'The Actor and the *Ubermarionette*' presents his testimony on the modern and modernist use of puppets for the stage and is re-echoed in all his writings on puppets. However, there is an essay which helped shape Craig's and which sheds light on his Romantic roots, an essay which Craig published in translation. This is Kleist's 'On the Marionette Theatre', which in German (*Uber Das Marionettentheater*) even has audible pre-echoes of Craig's *Ubermarionette*. It places Craig's essay in a historical context and helps explain much of the contradiction embedded in Craig's formulations of the *Ubermarionette*.

Kleist's work is printed in a special magazine-interlude which was published in 1918-19 - *The Marionette*, though Craig was probably aware of Kleist's thesis on marionettes as early as 1908, when he formulated his own ideas on acting in his *Ubermarionette* essay. 1918-19 was a hard time for *The Mask*. The Arena Goldoni was requisitioned by the Italian government, and the address for both journals was reduced to a post-box in Florence. Yet Craig took the chance to issue a periodical wholly devoted to puppets. The tone is much lighter than *The Mask:* the editor appears as one Tom Fool! The publication itself validates the hypothesis of this thesis with regard to its big sister by announcing itself as a magazine/ performance: phrases like 'the curtain rises' or 'the curtain falls' appear between articles and issues. *The Marionette* presents itself as a Commedia-type interlude of *lazzi between the more serious 'acts' of The Mask*. It *is* a temporary carnival mask for *The Mask*. Or perhaps a more appropriate metaphor would envisage *The Marionette* as the puppet and *The Mask* as the

puppet-master in a play that deals with the history and significance of marionettes.

The turn of the century had enjoyed a celebration of the role of puppets in the theatre. In the aestheticist context this contributed to the overall *man or marionette* debate that was to be one the main concerns of later modernist stagecraft. Although the final articulation of the argument is a modernist one, the role of the human actor is problematised from Romanticism onwards. The marionette is viewed as the perfect artifice, the perfect expression of the almighty *aesthetic will*. Arthur Symons, Walter Pater and Oscar Wilde all write on the role of the marionette and are frequently quoted on the subject in *The Mask*. And a passage from the letters of Joseph Conrad (see chapter V, note 10)[1] also quoted in *The Mask* (1928), shows that one did not have to be a person of the theatre to share the interest and the fascination of the period with the puppet. There, Conrad analyses main faults of the human actor - he or she is mortal and hence not very good material for art. It is life itself that is seen as poor and vulgar. In a scheme that substitutes aesthetic life for real/historical existence, there can be no space for the human form. Conrad's references to murder and suicide are not entirely inappropriate as he, together with many of his contemporaries, is (however whimsically and paradoxically) propagating the total banishment of actors from the stage. (It is interesting that in the process he should involve the *Ubermensch* to describe the puppet. The *Uber*puppet cannot be far away).

The high priest of aestheticism, Walter Pater, quoted frequently in *The Mask*, also expresses one of the main theoretical issues in this actor-puppet conflict. In an essay entitled 'Another Estimate of the Actor's Character', he touches upon a point to be further elaborated by Craig; namely the ancient criticism of actors as being somehow corrupted through the process of mimesis itself. This argument is at least as old as Plato: the acting process is seen as something that can ultimately corrupt the human actor. Consequently, in his corrupted, degenerate form the human actor can no longer act as the proper medium of art. Walter Pater is quoted in Volume 3 of *The Mask*:

> The stage in these volumes presents itself indeed not merely as a mirror of life, but as an illustration of the utmost intensity of life, in the fortunes and characters of the players. Ups and downs, generosity, dark fates, the most delicate goodness, have nowhere been more prominent than in the private existence of those devoted to the public mimicry of men and women. Contact with the stage, almost throughout its history presents itself as a kind of touchstone, to bring out the *bizzarrerie*, the theatrical tricks and contrasts of the actual world.[2]

The main Platonic[3] idea inherent in this concept is that mimicry is potentially dangerous and consequently not a task to be undertaken by humans. Craig develops this view further in his essay on the *Ubermarionette.* Generally, though, the notion that the human actor is deficient, corrupted, egotistical and simply not good enough material for art is the spring-board for much Craigian theorizing about acting. It sheds light on his idealistic-Romantic roots and separates him from other modernist theorists on the subject.

In negating the human actor and complimenting him with the puppet, Craig is by no means introducing a new idea; instead he is borrowing from the spirit of the 1890s. In 1892 in an article in the *Daily Telegraph* Oscar Wilde expresses his views on the matter:

> There are many advantages in puppets. They never argue. They have no crude views about art. They have no private lives. We are never bothered by accounts of their virtues, or bored by recitals of their vices; and when they are out of an engagement they never do good in public or save people from drowning; nor do they speak more than is set down for them. They recognise the presiding intellect of the dramatist, and have never been known to ask for their parts to be written up. They are admirably docile, and have no personalities at all.[4]

If we substitute Wilde's 'intellect of the dramatist' with 'genius of the artist of the theatre', all of the above could have been written by Craig himself. Further on in his letter Wilde describes a performance he saw in Paris which exclusively used puppets. The theatre was the Petit Théâtre des Marionettes run by Maurice Bouchor at the Galerie Vivienne from 1889 to 1894.

> I saw lately, in Paris, a performance by certain puppets of Shakespeare's *Tempest*, in M. Maurice Bouchor's translation. Miranda was the image of Miranda, because an artist had so fashioned her; and Ariel was true Ariel, because so had she been made. Their gestures were quite sufficient, and the words that seemed to come from their lips were spoken by poets who had beautiful voices. It was a delightful performance, and I remember it still with delight, though Miranda took no notice of the flowers I sent her after the curtain fell.[5]

The English intelligenstia at the turn of the century was fascinated with the possibility of a wholly puppet theatre. European puppet theatres were highly praised and attendance was considered compulsory if one were present in a city with such a theatre. Puppet theatres in

Europe acquired an almost cult status. In a passage from his *Apology for Puppets*, which appears in *The Mask* in 1912, Arthur Symons writes:

After seeing a ballet, a farce, and the fragment of an opera performed by the marionettes at the Costanzi Theatre in Rome I am inclined to ask myself why we require the intervention of any less perfect medium between the meaning of a piece, as the author conceived it, and that other meaning which it derives from our reception of it.[6]

In the same issue of *The Mask* Anatole France, another keen apologist for puppets, and one also quoted in *The Marionette*, writes of his visits to the Petit Théâtre des Marionettes:

In the meantime I have twice seen the marionettes of the rue Vivienne and have taken great pleasure in them. I am infinitely pleased for them to replace the living actors... A truly artistic idea, a graceful and noble thought, ought to enter more easily into the head of a marionette than into the brain of a fashionable actress.[7]

In propagating the substitution of the living actor by the marionette *The Mask* is not alone. However, it shifts the whole *man* or *marionette* debate into a more modernist context. Craig seems fully aware of the historical framework of this debate as he introduces Volume 5 of *The Mask*, wholly devoted to the marionette, under the banner of 'Gentlemen, the Marionette':

This number of *The Mask*, being dedicated principally to the Marionette, we have asked Mr. Gordon Craig, who has studied him so closely and knows him so well, to act as Master of Ceremonies and make the Introduction; and so together with Mr. Anatole France, 'Yorick', Mr. Arthur Symons and others of those who believe in 'the majesty of marionettes', make better known to many who have long been estranged from them these wonderful little beings which, with centuries of life behind them and centuries before, have 'in them something of the divine' and 'live with the life of the immortal gods'.[8]

In this context Craig's essay on the *Ubermarionette* does not seen so extreme or new. It already had not only continental. but native

precedents. Like most of these, the *Ubermarionette* never really left the stage of rhetoric. The fact that Craig practically avoided experimenting with his own ideas, and simply reiterated them over and over again, could be due to the particular background they sprang from; one that ultimately saw the marionette as a metaphor of the perfect artifice. However, the impact that this essay had on the whole man-marionette debate in modernist theatre practice is crucial. What is important to establish here is that *The Mask*, because of its on-going nature, provides insight into much of Craigian contradiction concerning marionettes. His other works present us with, more or less, the finished product with little or no reference to its historical framework. In this way *The Mask*, despite its layers and layers of masking and disguising, proves more revealing and explanatory than Craig's other works.

While *The Mask* presents its readers with a theoretical context for understanding Craigian ideas on marionettes and their use, at the same time it publishes much material on the history of puppets. Most of this is new for the English speaking public, and again Craig shows quite a surprising spirit of cooperation and understanding in allowing *The Mask* to present and promote studies of other scholars in the field. The most comprehensive study is a series of articles entitled 'History of Puppets'[9], written by one Yorick. Following the overall presentative strategy of *The Mask*, its author, P.C. Ferrigni, appears under a pseudonym. The articles are taken from his work *La Storia dei Buratinni* and are published in its first and only English translation, especially for *The Mask*. Ferrigni's work is largely based on *Histoire*

des marionettes en Europe (1852)[10] by Charles Magnin, with much additional information on Italian puppets. He deals with puppetry of the East, of ancient Greece and Rome, and of the Commedia dell'Arte. The study of puppets as presented by Yorick fits in quite neatly with Craig's perception of puppets and their role. Yorick's history is concerned with puppetry, not only as a particular theatrical mode, but also as a general statement on art and life itself. His introduction to the article 'Ancient Puppets in the Temple' reads:

> We will therefore content ourselves with a simple excursion into the field of venerable antiquity; with the swiftest of journeys through the stately temples once inhabited by the gods who have departed from them; with a hurried excursion through the sacred woods, where the initiated by the mysteries of the old religions, now passed out of fashion, celebrated the mysterious rites, and the solemn feasts and the sacrifices and the processions and the pomps, ... at times obscene as at others awful, but always poetic, ... of the pagan liturgy.''

Ferrigni is probably referring to the mysteries at Eleusis of ancient Greece, where marionettes called *neurospasta (νευρόσπαστα)* were said to take part in the rituals. The general atmosphere of the passage is one of awe and wonder. Throughout his studies puppetry is almost always connected with the divine and the mysterious. For Yorick, as for Craig in many respects, puppets represented the lost thread that would re-connect theatre with its past religious and ritualistic roots. This turning of the stage into a temple belongs to the trend set by Nietzsche's *The Birth of Tragedy.* The marionette as that representative of the holy theatres of the past; one that could possibly help revive the theatre of the present.

Craig's interest, however, is not limited to a Romantic fascination. He filters this with practical and historical knowledge. He sets up a collection of puppets at the Arena Goldoni, one of the most impressive of the period, and begins to experiment in matters of construction, manipulation and overall performance practice. *The Mask* is full of designs and instructions on how to construct and use puppets. He writes in Volume 6:

> The two figures represented in the accompanying illustrations are taken from the collection of Javanese Marionettes in the Gordon Craig School at Florence, some of which have been lately exhibited at Zurich. Some account of these wonderful shadow figures known as 'Wayang' figures and of the great Javanese drama in which they play their part will appear in a future number of *The Mask* but meantime we give you the accompanying notes on the construction of the figures...

Indeed Craig presents his readers with a history of the Wayang shadow theatre mainly in the pages of his other publication *The Marionette*[13]. Out of the whole puppet/marionette family, the Javanese shadow puppets in general are Craig's 'pets'. He studies them extensively, collects them and even derives his main pseudonym from their cast. Semar, the guise of the editor of *The Mask*, is a character from the Wayang shadow drama. Nowhere in *The Mask* or *The Marionette* does he actually reveal this, as most of his studies avoid listing or naming the characters of this shadow theatre.[14]

Craig's collection and study did not limit itself to Wayang puppets. He gathered every sort of puppet he could discover. Japanese Bunraku puppets were amongst his favourites and, with orientalist undertones, he presents notes on them in *The Mask*. The designs he publishes in 1914 are tracings sent to him by one Mr. Porter Garnett. He explains his reasons for studying these:

I still feel this. My judgement has had time to ripen, and if not convinced of the immediate advent of a world of super-marionettes to rescue a special branch of the art of acting from decay, I am persuaded that the marionette is the basis for a revival of that particular branch... But by studying the nature of this creation of artists (and marionettes have been made by artists of all nations since the earliest recorded times), by careful and serious and protracted study of the Idea in the Idol, in the Puppet, in the Doll, in Images of all kinds, we shall widen and not narrow our vision.[15]

Here Craig exposes his attitude towards the study of puppets and provides some insight into the problems that his specific stance created for him and his *Ubermarionette*. In approaching the great puppet theatres of the past he is chiefly concerned in what he calls the 'Idea in the Idol'. The general ideological/religious background to puppets was mainly what he wanted to restore in the theatre. The puppet was to be the agent of this project. Through it he could communicate with the great artists of the past. Therefore, Craig was more interested in the puppet as an *idea* rather than as an agent of a specific technique in theatre practice. Although he systematically studied puppet construction and manipulation, any application of puppetry and its methods to acting or even to his own *Ubermarionette* aroused in him that dreaded fear of imitation. He concludes in the same article:

Neither will it do to copy the Japanese and put on it a European or Russian costume. That short cut can be left to Messrs Browne, Smythe and de Jones. They *will* take it, rest assured. Impotence detests creation for obvious reasons.

Craig's obsession with originality and his loathing of copying did not allow space for notions of borrowing, influence, reference, appropriation and in general intertextuality[17]. This fear did not allow him to take advantage of the wealth of material he had at his

disposal. Unlike most of his contemporaries, and especially the Russians, he could only see a 'force', an ideological framework, in the tradition of puppets and not necessarily a methodological one.

Despite its limited application Craig's historical account of puppets continued to fill the pages of *The Mask*. Another related mission the periodical undertook was to re-establish the reputation of the Toy Theatres (or 'Juvenile Drama' as it was known). *The Mask* contributed to the rediscovery of this aspect of popular culture. For Craig the Toy Theatres were one expression of the English stage that he could accept. It was part of the privileged and almost mystically endowed oral tradition: it relied on the puppet-master and not the playwright, and it used puppets as its protagonists. More part of a popular tradition than the established, institutionalised theatre, it remained non-threatening for Craig. He could, therefore, patronize it, displaying it as yet another model for the ideal theatre. He writes in *The Mask*:

> In England we possess the best Toy Theatre and the worst of grown-up Theatres. We consider that Pollock's Theatre is the best Toy Theatre in the world, and that Beerbohm Tree's Theatre is the worst grown-up Theatre in the world.'[18]

Pollock's theatre was and probably still is synonymous with Toy Theatres'[19]. Founded by Benjamin Pollock (1856-1937), it dealt mainly with publishing sheets of characters for the miniature stages. Apart from the 'penny plain, twopence coloured'[20] sheets it also manufactured and sold new stages and plays, puppets, toys and much seasonal material for Christmas and Easter. Clearly this was not going

to be the school of drama that would change the course of the European stage. Still, Craig exhibited that modernist tendency of heralding the oral and the popular as the last remaining traces of real theatrical art, the last bastions against what was considered academic, over-refined and Establishment theatrical practice.

Another Toy Theatre boosted by Craig was that of Jack B. Yeats - W.B.'s painter brother - who even wrote an article for *The Mask* explaining how he produced his plays for the miniature stage. Of Jack B. Yeats Craig writes:

> His toy theatre is the most natural Europe possesses. His Dramas are filled with all the winds of heaven. They are short,... yet no one who reads them, but feels they are as long as life. *The Scourge of the Gulph* is without exception quite the first drama of the century. You may think, Reader, that I exaggerate, that I am carried away by these pirates,... or that I am mad.[21]

Using a common Craigian technique of disarming his audience by anticipating its response, Craig manages to shroud an otherwise outrageous claim. It is not Ibsen, Chekhov or Strindberg who herald the new writing in drama but, this puppeteer of the miniature stage. The model of the puppet-master/playwright is one that can easily be accommodated within Craig's scheme for the 'Theatre of the Future'. A few pages further in the same issue, again referring to Pollock's shop, he calls it 'the best theatre in London'. This particular article was signed by one Edward Edwardovitch, Craig's Moscow pseudonym, who was corresponding as a foreigner from London[22]. *The Blue Jacket* is published in the pages that follow from Mr. Pollock's collection plus a comprehensive list of his plays[23]. To complete the

picture the Book Review section of that issue praises the recently published *Jack B. Yeats. His Pictorial Art* by Ernest Marriott.

In the art of Clunn Lewis, an Irish puppeteer who toured mainly in Kent and Sussex and was contemporary with Craig, he found another representative of a dying tradition. Under the name John Bull, Craig writes:

> Mr. Clunn Lewis is the remaining link in England with Bartholomew Fair, and he now wanders through England, supported at times by the church and at times by the public... Here is the case of a man who has been giving performances for the last fifty years whenever he can find an audience of forty to sixty, and yet the English public do not support him.[24]

This statement is only partly true: Lewis was supported by quite a few eminent figures of the time, among them G. B. Shaw and Chesterton[25]. A production by Clunn Lewis is recorded in a later issue of *The Mask*. This took place at the 'Children's Welfare Exhibition' in 1912. The performances themselves were said to have attracted an audience of 2,500. 'Many of these evinced the keenest interest in the marionettes and Mr. Lewis's much-travelled puppets received an applause which might easily have turned the heads of any actores less severe[26]. Craig does not miss the chance to express another attraction of the Lewis theatre. Not only is it in keeping with the finest of English popular traditions but, it also provides an object lesson for the contemporary actor.

Recording contemporary English puppet performances is a project keenly undertaken by *The Mask* and elaborated by *The Marionette*, as we shall later see. Ernest Marriott, the author of *Jack B. Yeats. His Pictorial Dramatic Art*, comments on a production at Liverpool organised by the Sandon Studios Club. Marriott writes:

> From the point of view of *The Mask*, perhaps the happiest sign of the Club's activities was the puppet-play organised and carried out by certain of its members, for it wrought exceedingly well when it endeavoured to establish a dwelling place in the cold north for the Marionette, who was born in the East so many centuries ago.[27]

In the same 1912 issue *The Mask* presents its readers with a history of yet another pioneer in the long life of this Toy stage. William George Webb, born in Surrey in 1819, appears in an article by H. E. Francis Eagle as 'the only member of the trade who combined these capacities, as artist-etcher, printer and publisher of his own Theatrical Portraits and characters and scenes for the Miniature plays'[28]. This article is followed by a list of the plays published by Webb.

Craig's fascination with the toy theatre obviously stems from his vision of it as the perfect model of an institution that can accommodate his directorial extremism. At the same time, forming part of an oral tradition makes it less theoretically suspect. It is neat, clear, even though slightly naive. This touches upon one of Craig's other keen interests, namely designing toys for children. His *Book of Penny Toys* is a fine example of Arts and Crafts aesthetic in the design and production of toys. Indeed his whole interest in Toy theatres has Arts and Crafts undertones: these theatres were also fine

realizations of Arts and Crafts principles. They were run by single individuals who designed, produced and performed every aspect of a performance single-handed. Simultaneously they appeared to have an organic and healthy relationship with tradition, which was also a vital concern of the movement. Craig's book on toys was published in 1899, and a few months later he was to publish the magazine that acted as a dress rehearsal for *The Mask*. This was *The Page*, published in the finest of Arts and Crafts traditions[29].

It is with *The Marionette* that Craig combines the playfulness, naivety, designer-conscious aesthetic of *The Page* with the more theoretically-slanted *Mask*. Published in 1918, as an interval between issues 8 and 9 of *The Mask*, it deals exclusively with the lives and times of marionettes. This allows Craig to indulge with no hesitation or shame whatsoever in all the narrative techniques he was hinting at in *The Mask*. The theme of the periodical allows it to metaphorically function as a marionette for *The Mask* itself. The puppet-master, of course, of this magazine-within-a magazine, is none other than Craig, under the appropriate name Tom Fool. The launching or 'opening night' of the journal is heralded as follows, introduced by a reproduction of a design of a Javanese shadow puppet:

Before The Curtain.

Ladies, Gentlemen, and Egoists.

Having lost our offices owing to an unforeseen burst of enthusiasm on the part of nobody, we are reduced to a box: a private box; Box 444. Easy to remember... and they still say artists are unpractical...Being reduced to a Box for an office, after the luxury of the tumbledown Arena Goldoni (the coldest place in the world) it only remains to thank nobody for his burst of enthusiasm which caused us to skedaddle. This pleasant duty executed, the Curtain may go up for

all we care.

The Curtain Rises.[30]

The character of *The Marionette* as comic lazzo allows it to fire comments, often abusive, against its audience. This tone is continued throughout its 12 issues and touches most of the themes covered. *The Marionette* too, like *The Mask*, presents us with a history of puppets. The author here, though, is not a renowned academic but Craig himself. A series of articles under the general title 'History of Puppets'[31] is presented in its pages. Craig, using his own name this time, takes the role of Yorick, the author of the series in the "mother" magazine under the same title. Craig's account is much more impressionable, much more personal and less historical and scholarly. The nature of the publication calls for this attitude as he is himself doubling the Yorick of *The Mask*, acting as his more flamboyant, opinionated counterpart. It is characteristic that all the pseudonyms used by Craig in *The Marionette* are totally transparent, and the audience is almost told that Craig is the man behind the various guises. It is possible that Craig himself felt more comfortable in this mode of writing, that it was closer to his individual discourse (if there was one under all the masks). In general, the history presented in its pages contrasts sharply with the equivalent series in *The Mask*:

> We are here on earth to live, not to die. We happen to die, but it doesn't make it any less certain that we are here to live; to create, not to kill.
> Now the historian has always done his very best to kill us. Oh, I know how fascinating a book of facts and dates can be. But a clerk can do that work. What I object to is all *the evidence* of the historian; that's what kills.[32]

Following such an introduction we are prepared for a highly impressionable, not necessarily historical - in other words typically Craigian - account of puppets. The fact remains, however, that Craig *did* conduct an extensive study of puppets and their history. The series continues with more accounts of Wayang puppets, burattini and eastern shadow puppets. Craig categorizes puppets according to their performative features, proposing such categories as Flat Puppets, Round Puppets, Marionettes suspended from above and Burattini and Shadow Figures held from below. The important aspect of this process is that they are treated in the context of performative practice rather than in terms of their religious background. There is quite an extensive account of matters of handling, articulation and materials of puppets.

Despite his disregard for historical research he, nonetheless, is quite meticulous when presenting the history of puppets. The scholarly aspect of this history he leaves to other authors. The Italian academic Corrado Ricci presents an article entitled 'The Burattini of Bologna'[33], which is published for 'the first time in English by permission of the author'. Craig urges his readers to read other books written by Corrado Ricci. Their books 'everyone in the New Movement should possess'[34]. The more translations of essays by European scholars feature in *The Marionette*. Some of these are 'Japanese Marionette plays and the Modern Stage' by Oskar Mansterberg (sic); 'The Marionettes of the Ancients' by Father Mariantonio. All of these works appear in their first English translations and do not appear again until 1936 when Bruce Inverarity's *Manual of Puppetry* is published containing both [35].

The accounts themselves are interspersed with witticisms by Craig. Although they may have an apologetic tone, they ironically still draw the audience's attention to the all-powerful puppet-master, who remains in control throughout every aspect of this performance/publication:

Do not grow cross until you see how ill I do it; and when you have glanced through and thrown away my compilation do not laugh at me for having gone to such lengths to show off my ignorance.[36]

The Marionette acts as a stage for Craig's actual plays for puppets or 'motions' as he called them, borrowing the Elizabethan term. These are: *Mr. Fish and Mrs Bones, The Tune the Old Cow Died of, The Gordian Knot,* and *The Men of Gotham*[37]. They are all signed by Tom Fool and are not reprinted in any other publication. Apart from the above four motions Craig also wrote another 'sketch for a little farce for Marionettes' entitled *Blue Sky.* This was written after the publication of *The Marionette* had ceased in 1920 and appeared in *The English Review.*[38]

Keeping the balance between the amusing and the serious, *The Marionette* constantly reflects, refers to and doubles *The Mask*, albeit in its own differing mode. It presents its readers with a full bibliography of material printed in *The Mask* relating to marionettes. Its rhetoric allows it to be more outrageous and personal but this does not stop it from taking its task very earnestly indeed. Laughter, disguise and trickery are simply used as devices to attract attention. Craig writes:

are you going to find it merely laughable because of this admirable quality? Must we drop the names puppet and call it merely the *Moving Form*, before it can command serious attention? Probably. Good, then;

call it the Moving Figure. The Theatre of Moving Figures... is in existence not to exalt egoism but to damn it.[39]

On a theoretical level, *The Marionette* is just as serious as *The Mask* and makes just as many claims, probably more in fact. Due to its specific character, it sheds more light on Craigian formulations on puppets and their relation to the living actor.

For instance (and crucially), it is in *The Marionette* that Craig publishes a translation, the first in English, of Heinrich Von Kleist's *Uber Das Marionettentheater*[40]. Although this essay appears in 1918, and Craig had already formulated his *Ubermarionette* theory as early as 1908 in *The Mask*[41], it is very probable indeed that Craig was aware of Kleist's work before that. One piece of evidence is Otto Brahm's book on Kleist which was published in 1911 and mentions Kleist's *Marionettes*. Craig was familiar with the work of Otto Brahm and even before 1911 had had meetings with him to discuss the possibilities of a colloboration[42]. Whether directly or in more subtle ways, the work of Kleist was a definite influence on Craig; their intertextual relationship cannot be doubted.

The concerns of both men are essentially the same and derive from a common ideological framework. Both essays start on the assumption that the human form is not the proper material for art. If theatre was to be the new 'secular ized' art form of the future, the human actor had to be replaced by the idol. Marionettes were conceived in their quasi-religious facets. Craig writes:

Acting is not an art. It is therefore incorrect to speak of the actor as an artist. For accident is an enemy of the artistic. Art is the exact antithesis of Pandimonium (sic), and Pandimonium is created by the tumbling together of many accidents; Art arrives only by design. Therefore in order to make any work of art it is clear we may work in those materials with which we can calculate. Man is not one of these materials.[43]

The main problem Craig poses is the parameter of chance. As he mentions further on, 'man tends towards freedom' and consequently 'as material for the theatre he is useless'. Kleist expresses more or less the same argument in his support of marionettes:

I said that however clear his paradox might be he would never persuade me that there could be more grace in a mechanical doll than in the structure of the human body. He replied that a human being was simply incapable of rivalling the marionette in this respect. Only a God could measure himself against matter... and this was the point, he said, where both ends of the world's circle fit into each other.[44]

In a form of polemic very much used by Craig as well[45] - the dialogue - Kleist too talks of the minimising of the factors of chance and chaos with his notion of the *asymptote* of marionettes. The main limitations of the human form are imposed by its very nature, by its materiality. The constant need to de-materialize the body of the actor is present in the works of both. Kleist writes:

Another advantage of the puppets is that they are not subject to the law of gravity. They know nothing of that worst enemy of the dancer, the inertia of matter; for the force which lifts them into the air is greater than that which binds them to earth... We use the earth to rest on, to recover from the exertions of the dance, a moment which is clearly not in itself dance, and with which there is nothing to be done to make it disappear as quickly as possible.[46]

If we were to substitute Kleist's idea of 'dance theatre', as the perfect mode for puppets with Craig's term of puppet plays as motions, we arrive at two very similar views indeed. This highly idealized

puppet has to somehow expiate for its earthly existence. The earth is only used 'to rest on' and any aspect of it is certainly not suitable material for art. In yet another expression of that aestheticist notion that life itself is somehow merely a 'nuisance', that can only hinder the creative process, Kleist's words echo a very Craigian ring. Craig takes the argument even further:

> If you can find in nature a new material, one which has never been used by man to give form to his thoughts, then you can say that you are on the high road towards creating a new art. For you have found that by which you can create it.[47]

If for Kleist such a feat could only be undertaken by 'a God', for Craig it seems less fantastic. Both men see the role of the puppet-master as crucial. He represents that totalising power of the artistic genius. For Craig, though, this was no longer a rhetorical device. The metaphor materialized in the shape of the dominant director. His appearance is heralded by Kleist:

> Now since the puppeteer can only have control over this center of gravity through the medium of his wires or strings, all the other limbs are, as they should be, inert, mere pendulums, obeying only the law of gravity.[48]

For Kleist, as is the case with Craig, the main obstacle impeding the human actor from creation is his nature, his personality; the fact that he is endowed with experience. Craig formulates the *Ubermarionette* as the actor minus 'personality'. Kleist states that it is impossible for the human actor to create 'since we have eaten from the tree of knowledge'.

Kleist and Craig both derive a 'grand theory' from the theatre and in particular from the marionette. In as much as it represents the perfect artifice, it becomes not only a statement about the theatre but about art in general. Taking this logic to its extreme, and since life only counts as 'artistic life', the marionette is seen as the new idol of this quasi-religious art form, endowed not only with artistic qualities but also with metaphysical ones. It comes to represent a total, eschatological theory that may redeem, not only the art of the theatre but life itself. Kleist ends his essay in an apocalyptic manner:

'Well, then, my friend,' said Herr C., 'you have all that you need to enable you to understand me. In an organic world we see that grace has greater power and brilliance in proportion as the reasoning powers are dimmer and less active. But as one line, when it crosses another, suddenly appears on the other side of the intersecting point after its passage through infinity; or as the image in a concave mirror, after retreating into infinity, suddenly reappears close before our eyes, so, too, when knowledge has likewise passed through infinity, grace will reappear. So that we shall find it at its purest in a body which is entirely devoid of consciousness or which possesses it in an infinite degree; that is, in the marionette or the god.'
'You mean,' I said rather tentatively, 'that we must eat again of the tree of knowledge in order to relapse into the state of Innocence?'
'Certainly,' he replied.'That is the last chapter of the history of the world.'[49]

Kleist proposes the marionette as the divine image that will somehow re-connect man with his divine creator and restore truth and order in the universe. His elevation of grace over the 'dimmer powers of reason' and his reference to the notion of the 'concave mirror' have a distinctly Platonic ring to them. This only highlights Kleist's idealistic roots and also clarifies similar formulations by Craig:

I pray earnestly for the return of the Image, the *Ubermarionette*, to the Theatre; and when he comes again and is but seen, he will be loved so well that once more will it be possible for people to return to

their ancient... homage rendered to existence... and divine and happy intercession made to Death.[50]

The two closing paragraphs could have been written by either writer. Both have a messianic tone to them and exhibit the idealistic-Platonic background of both Kleist and Craig.

The essay *Uber Das Marionettentheater* creates a historic context for Craigian formulations on the role of the actor and the marionette, and, at the same time, defines his relationship with corresponding modernist schools of acting. Craig is much closer to the Romanticism of Kleist than he is to the modernism of his contemporaries. The 'man or marionette' debate was one which determined many modernist schools of performance. Parallel to Craig's *Ubermarionette*, and in many ways inspired by it, similar theories were being experimented with all over Europe and the Soviet Union. The Russian and Italian Futurists and the Bauhaus theatres all saw in the puppet a possible model for the actor. Still, Craig has quite an ambivalent relationship with his younger contemporaries. Although his essay on the *Ubermarionette* seemed radical at the time and was essentially the work that placed him among the chief theoreticians of European theatre, it was left to other schools of performance actually to undertake and realize these highly innovative Craigian views. The acting theories of Meyerhold, for example, which admittedly[51] owe much to Craig couldn't be more removed ideologically and practically.

Again Kleist can help solve the seeming contradiction that is evident throughout most of Craig's work. Despite the newness and

boldness of Craigian thought, very little of it actually became reality. The *Ubermarionette* theory and all the repercussions it caused can act as a distinct paradigm of Craig's ideological background. Had this essay been written almost a century earlier, as was its predecessor, it would have been received as an instance of excessive Romanticism, not ever meant to be realized. As it happened, however, Craig wrote in the 1910s and everyone, both fans and critics, expected to see results.

Craig's *Ubermarionette* is called to replace the human actor through a process that negates, discharges the human form completely. Other schools of performance followed quite the opposite trail. The Russian constructivists and the Bauhaus theatre, for example, also propose the puppet as the paradigmatic actor. This conclusion, however, is reached through a very different process. Where Craig and Kleist negate the human form, they celebrate it. Craig's negation contrasts with their total affirmation of the human form. Instead of de-materialising, their position was to re-materialize the human actor. If Craig's *Ubermarionette* was to connect the puppet with the divine, Meyerhold's *biomechanics* were to establish a historical connection, to place the human form in history. For the idealistic relation of puppet-idol with God is substituted the materialistic relation of puppet-machine with history. Instead of replacing the human actor by the puppet-idol the goal was to *puppetize* the human form itself. Its materiality was no longer an obstacle but the very substance of creative art. It was this materiality that would place the human form in history and help it find a language of expression

for the theatre. The actor was no longer seen as degenerate, corrupt, but was now considered to be the primal material for theatre. 'Above all drama is the art of the actor', wrote Meyerhold[52]. Oskar Schlemmer expressed similar views in his famous definition of the theatre as 'the history of the transfiguration of the human form'[53]. The material of the human form was the very substance that was to create the new dialectic actor as Meyerhold put it. Rather than work in abstraction on the *Ubermarionette*, as with Craig, his modernist counterparts chose to work on the human form itself. Meyerhold explains this process of shifting from the inanimate/immaterial to the living and human. The director, he says:

> quickly realized that as soon as he tried to improve the puppet's mechanism it lost part of its charm. It was as though the puppet were resisting such barbarous improvements with all its being. The director came to his senses when he realized that there is a limit beyond which there is no alternative but to replace the puppet with a man. But how could he part with the puppet which had created a world of enchantment with its incomparable movements, its expressive gestures achieved by some magic known to it alone, its angularity which reaches the heights of true plasticity?[54]

For Meyerhold, in many ways an admirer of Craig, the whole 'man or marionette' debate had come full circle. Replacing the human actor by the puppet was a process not without its merits: it left Meyerhold with a particular technique, with a method of training that could in turn puppetize the human actor. Meyerhold follows Craigian thought but goes beyond it. Rather than conceiving of an abstract idea and posing it as the final result, i.e. the *Ubermarionette*, he is interested in the process, in the method of training, hence his *biomechanics*.

For Craig, as with Kleist, the marionette did not offer a language for training actors, a system that could be reproduced and developed. It presented an ideal, not necessarily one that was meant to be realized. Certainly on a practical level this was impossible. Despite all his collections of puppets, his designs and reproductions for his journals Craig never actually worked on designing and making an *Ubermarionette* that was in line with all his theoretical claims. The very fact that he conceived of Irving as the perfect marionette shows that there must have been much misunderstanding going on. Craig's ideas, as they were interpreted by theatre practitioners like Meyerhold, may not have been at all what he had in mind. When criticising his contemporaries, Craig fails to see the threads that connect them with his work. One such account of a Futurist marionette performance in *The Marionette* reads:

> Just got back from the *Teatro dei Piccolo*,... Diavoli. It is quite as bad as you guessed. The music had just about as much form and structure, the colours true futurism, and as ugly as the music, which as usual contained not one sound not displeasing to the ear... Their announcements in the paper spoke of studies in light and rhythm, etc... to me the whole thing is like a young girl proposing to play her scales, not well, in public... and talking all the while about the 'beauty of diatonic sequences' and 'harmonic simplicity'. That would be funny if anyone else were fooled... but perhaps not, since there is never a lack of gulls.[55]

The fact that the above account has no reference whatsoever to the marionettes used is in itself characteristic. Craig, had to say something, and something critical at that. He could not, however, be critical of the marionettes, as he himself had nothing to show apart from ideas and schemes. He is very articulate when talking about puppets of the past but becomes very vague and general when

criticising marionette productions of his time. On the other hand, Craig shows no hesitation when proposing Irving as the perfect actor/marionette:

> I consider him to have been the greatest actor I have ever seen, and I have seen the best in Italy, France, Russia, Germany, Holland and America. They were all imitable, and yet he was unique. By Irving the *Mask* and the *Marionette* were better understood than by all other actors... and it is because of his trust in these two ancient traditions... the two unshakeable traditions... that he stood unique. Some of you know this... I need hardly remind you of it. But you who are younger, and who never saw Irving, will see him now... a figure solemn and beautiful like an immense thought in motion... If you will be an Actor in such a day as this, and if you are an English man, take but one model,... the masked marionette.[56]

In suggesting Irving as the 'masked marionette', we are led to believe that the whole affair of masks, marionettes and *Ubermarionettes* may have been nothing more than a rhetorical device. The *Ubermarionette* could merely be a metaphor for a type of stylized, highly Romantic and expressionist acting. It is possible that Craig had had very different ideas in mind when originally formulating his theories of marionettes. The impact which these had, however, was something he could not foresee or control. His essay on 'The Actor and the *Ubermarionette*' - whether he meant it literally or not - was certainly taken literally and aroused much controversy. Having helped to trigger the man/marionette debate, Craig could not continue his innovations in practice. Theoretically he was covered but practically Irving could not be accepted by other modernist theatre experimenters, as the prototypical *Ubermarionette*. There was something very incongruous in Craig's combination of modernist rhetoric with Romantic idealisation.

Kleist's essay helps resolve this seeming contradiction. The work of Craig on the theory of theatre in general, and on marionettes in particular, may be seen as springing from the idealistic Romantic tradition. As expressed by Kleist this is a tradition that conceives of marionettes in their quasi-religious context, that negates the human actor and in general proposes an idealised abstraction in its place. The tensions that such a view encompasses remain subdued as long as one is not involved in theatrical praxis. From the moment the theory has to take shape and form another step has to be taken; one taken by other modernists, that creates a technique, a system of training, a performative language that bridges the gap between theory and practice.

The fact that Craig chose to feature Kleist in *The Marionette* and not in *The Mask* only adds to the periodical's performative quality. *The Marionette*, acting as a magazine-within-a-magazine, functions on a meta-level, revealing Craig's sources, placing his work within a historical context and, at times, presenting possible solutions to areas of Craigian thought that appear problematic.

CHAPTER VIII

MASKS! MASKS! MASKS!: CONCEPTS OF AUTHORSHIP AND NARRATIVE STRUCTURE IN THE PERIODICAL

Were we to look for a slogan or epigraph for Craig's work the above phrase would serve quite aptly. Re-writing Shakespeare's 'words, words, words', the work of Craig proposes a non-logocentric view of theatre with the mask as both its medium and its emblem. Craig's notion of the *Ubermarionette*, his formulations of the role of the director, his underlining of the concept of performance at the expense of the literary text, are all ideas which can be read as embodying, extending, ramifying the concept of the mask. The periodical that was to carry all this Craigiana could have the same name: *The Mask*. The title of the publication not only acts as an indicator of its content, but also provides a paradigm of its procedures. For *The Mask* symbolizes Craigian notions of theatricality through its very physicality and the way it 'narrates' these notions. The title of Craig's periodical is not merely a transference of meaning but a generator of meaning as well. In this way Craig, as the voice behind *The Mask*, both shapes and is shaped by it. It provides Craig with an arena where his ideas can be analyzed, exemplified and eventually enacted. In its turn, this arena is not merely a neutral medium carrying and transferring meaning. It sets up its own parameters. The author of such a project has to assume the guise of the mask himself. Eventually this guise overtakes its subject and the author becomes a

mask. Craig as the author of the periodical turns himself or is turned into a mask.

In writing *The Mask* Craig employs narrative strategies that give form to its performative stance. As a masked writer, his use of pseudonyms only seems natural: a consequence of his struggle to turn himself into the only pure form of *theatrical writing* he acknowledged: the mask. This constant shifting of the identity of the author *launches The Mask* on some exciting narratological adventures. Editors, contributors, foreign correspondents, all seem to fuse into one voice. What this strategy manages to do is to three-dimensionalize the two dimensional quality of a magazine. It allows us to visualize and enact in our minds the goings-on in its pages. What readers are seduced into doing in order to maintain their sense of who's who is to imagine the page of contents as a form of theatrical wings where the masked actor/writer waits until he is called upon to adopt or speak through a particular mask for the performance taking place. As a metaphor of performance, the mask provides the magazine and Craig with the most apt narratological strategies.

What Craig's various masks try to achieve is the gradual diffusion of his status as an author. In this project Craig is not alone. He manifests one of the main concerns of Modernism in general: that of the relationship of the author/creator to his creation/artifice. This problematizing of the role of the author led to much theorising by writers such as Ezra Pound and T. S. Eliot, who articulated a novel relationship of author to work, based on

impersonality. This 'cult of impersonality' was much argued over, with consequences (according to more recent criticism) at times opposite to those initially suggested. Instead of doing away with the author's personality, it rather creates a certain 'theology of the author' that places him beyond history in a totally aestheticised realm. This is a useful context in which to examine Craig's experimentations with masks. As with the activities of many of his literary counterparts, Craig's seeming deconstruction of the author almost always reconstructs itself under the auspices of that grand theory so favoured by 'high' Modernism: fascism'. Craig's flirtations with fascism are not as systematic and articulate as Ezra Pound's. Yet his fascination with masks, his attempt to do away with the personal in favour of the 'artistic genius', can be theoretically justified and explained in a fascist framework.

8.1 'So that I wasn't always there'.[1]

Asked about his use of pseudonyms in an interview in 1962, Craig stated that this process allowed him to hide his identity. He went on to explain, 'you see *The Mask* could do anything'[2]. The result, of course, was quite the opposite. It made its author ever-present and all-powerful. Assuming some 65[3] pseudonyms, Craig was in control of almost every article, every commentary, every drawing, even of the correspondence in the pages of his journal. Rather than 'hide the identity of the man behind it', as Craig's son writes[4], *The Mask* could not be a better promoter of that identity.

The pseudonyms themselves ranged from the sublime to the ridiculous. The most prominent one was John Semar, the name attributed to the editor. Craig borrowed the name from the Javanese puppet Semar. This fact is not actually stated in *The Mask*, and in all his writings on Javanese puppets Craig avoids naming them (perhaps in an attempt to keep up the pretence and not give away his guise). Craig decided to assume the guise of Semar while he was still in the planning stages of *The Mask*. As Lorelei Guidry writes in her introduction to her index of *The Mask*, and Craig's son in his *Gordon Craig*, a Dutch couple were hired by Craig to help with organizing the publication (and with the housework - in typical Craigian style). Their main contribution was in translation work. One of these translations was a presentation of Javanese shadow puppets which inspired Craig's editorial pseudonym. It is interesting to note that Semar, one of the most respected figures of the Javanese cast of shadow puppets, is himself a figure in disguise. As a tramp or as a wrinkled old man, he symbolizes the all-knowing, wise figure whose superficial appearance is there to deceive and distract. Semar the puppet and Semar the editor assume here a meta-theatrical as well as a stage-like quality, one that in part stresses their artificiality and foregrounds the act of masking itself. The Craigian Semar voices his views mainly in the editorial section of the periodical. There he comments on matters of world theatre and world affairs in general from a Craigian stance. (Even when Craig was away from Florence, notably during the period he spent in Russia and Dorothy Nevile Lees took over *The Mask, he could* also use the guise of Semar without bothering to disturb his scheme of things.)

Craig went to great lengths to maintain his supposed cover. Numerous announcements in *The Mask* try to falsify rumours that Craig is the absolute agent behind it all. A typical one reads as follows:

There have appeared lately more than once in the Press two erroneous statements in regard to *The Mask*: first, that it is edited by Mr. Gordon Craig at Rapallo; second, that its first eight volumes were written by him.
Such reports are incorrect.
The Mask remains in the same hands as heretofore. Its home is still in Florence, and it is edited, as it has been from the first, by Mr. John Semar.
Mr. Craig continues to send as hitherto, his contributions. In regard to the second error... while Mr. Craig has contributed largely to them, and certainly has a capacity for work, they were not all written by him. Such a feat were surely an impossible one.[7]

Craig could not expect even the most faithful of readers to believe such a statement, especially as he generously hands himself a compliment at the end of the announcement. What Craig is chiefly aiming for is a certain suspension of belief in his audience/readers. It is a theatrical strategy partly called for to add to the periodical's performative quality. With pseudonyms like Yoo-no-hoo, Britannicus, Edward Edwardovitch or X.Y.Z., the audience could not possibly believe that they were real and separate people. In a way, the more obvious the pseudonym, the more readers were compelled to apply theatrical ways of 'reading'. Such names could only be characters on a stage. In this case the stage was provided through the pages of a magazine. Craig's cunning and devious attempts to hide his identity and claim that he was merely one contributor to *The Mask* are paralleled by jaunty and fanciful attempts to make his cover transparent and charade-like.

Craig went to great lengths to establish personalities for the supposed characters behind the pseudonyms. In quite a Stanislavskian manner he creates biographies for the most important ones and sketches them out in his notebooks[8]. John Balance, as the name suggests is the voice of reconciliation and common sense in *The Mask*. He is not as outspoken as Semar, as befits the voice of objectivity. He signs at least 32 articles 2 engravings and 6 foreign notes. Lorelei Guidry writes:

> Of the 32 articles, one was a tribute to Sarah Bernhardt, one was rambling and whimsical, 10 were somewhat didactic, 12 combined reasoned teaching with fresh ideas or other useful material, and 8 gave useful information without noticeably expounding Craig's theories as such. Some of the best writing in *The Mask* - and some of the most profound - appeared under this pseudonym.[9]

Pierre Rames (Semar spelled backwards) deals with oriental theatre, as befits his exotic name. Craig shared both these pseudonyms with Dorothy Nevile Lees, whose main contribution to *The Mask* was the translation and publication of material on the Commedia dell'Arte, and who, following Craig's example, eventually took various disguises. The name Allen Carric appears in Craig's notes under the entry 'Portico. Fanciful. Rather humorous. *Old* engravings. Often in Paris'[10]. Carric was to be mainly concerned with historical matters, and hence signs articles like 'A Venice and a Rome for the Consideration of Young Scene Painters' in Volume 1 and Giuseppe Bibiena in Volume 12. (It is interesting to note that Craig's son Edward, following the family tradition, took the pseudonym 'Carrick' after he left *The Mask*, specialising in similar areas. He was mainly involved in historical research and photography, although the form

'Carric' does appear at least once in *The Mask*). This device of setting up pseudonyms as plausible theatrical characters and, at the same time, constantly stressing their artificiality creates a type of alienation effect which adds to the meta-theatrical quality of the periodical.

8.2. Personae: Masks of Impersonality.

The obsession with masks is, of course, very much a product of the aesthetic concerns of the period. *The Mask* could have acted as a title of a periodical dealing with almost any aspect of aesthetics or philosophy between 1880 and 1910. The fact that Craig's publication dealt mainly with theatre is almost a convenient coincidence. Trumpeted as the ultimate artifice at the turn of the century, masks appear in almost every domain of art. In *The Birth of Tragedy* Nietzsche did much to construct an aesthetic theory with the mask as its symbol and method. His anti-humanist and very unclassical reading of ancient Greek drama proposed the mask not only as a carrier of meaning but as the ultimate creator as well. Nietzsche's 'every genius deserves a mask' presented the mask not as a barrier that hides and conceals but rather as a liberator that reveals. This apocalyptic quality of the mask is what made it attractive to late Romanticism and filtered through to Craig's version of Modernism. Yeats's poem 'The Mask', written in 1910 is just one example of this fascination with the mask:

THE MASK

'Put off that mask of burning gold
With emerald eyes.'
'O no, my dear, you make so bold
To find if hearts be wild and wise,
And yet not cold.'

'I would but find what's there to find,
Love or deceit.'
'It was the mask engaged your mind,
And after set your heart to beat,
Not what's behind.'

'But lest you are my enemy,
I must enquire.'
'O no, my dear, let all that be;
What matter, so there is but fire
In you, in me?'''

The elevation of the mask to a metaphysical realm is something which is a constant theme throughout the aestheticist 1890s. Oscar Wilde's essay 'The Truth of Masks' expounds a detailed analysis of how the 'appearance' of a performance is just as important, if not more, than the text. In a detailed presentation, which includes the work of Godwin, he explains how historicist reconstruction (including the re-introduction of masks) can only enhance the meaning of a play. Oscar Wilde goes further, however, to claim that the mask - the ultimate symbol of 'appearance' - is there not to conceal but to reveal. The mask becomes the emblem of apocalyptic art. The essay ends:

For in art there is no such thing as a universal truth. A Truth in art is that whose contradictory is also true. And just as it is only in art criticism, and through it, that we can apprehend the Platonic theory of ideas, so it is only in art criticism, and through it, that we can realise Hegel's system of contraries. The truths of metaphysics are the truths of masks.'[2]

With the distinction between artifice and reality blurring through the manifestations of aestheticism, the mask is seen as pure artefact, not merely mediating reality but also creating it. Having broken the distinction between art and reality, the mask then acts as the catalyst that dissolves the barrier between the artist and the artefact. Squeezing all three parameters - reality, art and the artist - into one, the mask presents itself as the absolute symbol. The artist no longer sees himself/herself as the separate subject. Subjectivity and individuality no longer impede the creative process but enhance it. The artistic process itself gives birth to both the artefact and the artist. Oscar Wilde's essay 'The Critic as Artist' proposes a model where not only do the personal and the aesthetic fuse into one, but the critical and interpretive functions are also woven into the creative process. Using the proto-Craigian form of the didactic dialogue he writes:

ERNEST: I would have said that personality would have been a disturbing element.
GILBERT: No; it is an element of revelation. It you wish to understand others you must intensify your own individualism.[13]

The Mask is that which will filter the personal into the aesthetic. Gilbert (i.e. Oscar Wilde) continues:

Yes, the objective form is the most subjective in matter. Man is least himself when he talks in his own person. Give him a mask, and he will tell you the truth.[14]

Like many of his contemporaries Craig used the mask (and in his case *The Mask*) as a device that would both hide and create himself, play and tell the truth. Maud Ellmann writes in *The Poetics of Impersonality*:

Eliot and Pound both show that it is impossible to overcome the self, but this does not mean that their work is merely a disguise for their biographies. Their poetry should be regarded neither as their mirror nor their hiding-place, but as the laboratory for the fabrication of themslves.'[15]

The Mask provided Craig with a workshop for creating and expressing his ideas, as did Pound's shorter poems, collected under the significant title *Personae*. At the same time, it moulded and formed Craig's identity as an artist. Craig fabricated himself as much as he fabricated his art form through *The Mask*. Disguises, pseudonyms, masks all acted not so much to hide as to create his artistic identity, which is the only identity he acknowledged anyway.

In this context, theatre acts as the ultimate workshop for the fabrication of the artistic psyche. Taking place in space rather than in time and stressing the materiality of its nature, the stage provides an arena that can (re)create not only reality but also the artist himself. Unlike much of the whole Modernist experiment in writing, which acts as a metaphor of this whole process, the theatre can actually enact it. The establishing of the director is crucial in this context. As perceived by Craig any relation of the 'Artist of the Theatre' to the production itself could only be a *monodramatic* one. His Moscow production of *Hamlet* subjugated every other aspect of the production to the play's protagonist; likewise Craig's director can view the stage as that space which extends, develops and finally defines his artistic self. One example of such a merging of self and artifice in a procedure that gives birth to both categories is an early Russian constructivist performance. Entitled *Vladimir*

Mayakovsky, it was written, directed and acted by the poet himself. The few accounts of this production recall the poet/actor/director asking the audience 'to darn the holes of his soul' and then proceeding with a long monologue about himself (despite the laughter he had aroused). Konstantin Rudnitsy records the event in *Russian and Soviet Theatre: Tradition and the Avant-Garde*:

In the centre of the production was the author of the play, who had turned his piece into a monodrama... It was an unbroken monologue divided into separate parts which were just distinguishable from each other by intonational nuances. Only Mayakovsky himself moved about on the stage, dancing and reciting, and revealing no desire to relinquish one effective gesture or to tone down one note of his splendid voice.'[16]

This shameless exposition and obsession with the 'artistic self' was of course, indulged in all in the name of impersonality. Pasternak wrote of that same performance:

How simple it all was! Art was called tragedy. And so it should be called. The tragedy was called *Vladimir Mayakovsky*. The title concealed a brilliantly simple discovery: that the poet is not the author, but the subject of lyric poetry, which addresses the world in the first person. The title was not the name of the author, but a description of the content.'[17]

Through Nieztsche's re-reading of Dionysus all art was to be called tragic: that process that through *ecstasy* displaces and loses the self. The artistic experience would always include birth, death and resurrection. Tragic art would initiate the ritualistic baptism of the artist. This 'simple discovery' justified this whole project philosophically. The only way to achieve complete impersonality would be to expose oneself to the extreme. By the same token Craig's

periodical could have been called *Edward Gordon Craig* . Short of doing that, *The Mask* has to be accepted as being as much about Craig as it is about the art of the theatre, if on a Craigian stage the two can be separated. It is with his journalistic endeavours as it was with his theatrical projects, which stressed the monodramatic dimension of a production.

It is interesting that similar projects were undertaken by other schools of performance of the period. Again, Craig uses *The Mask* to metaphorically enact much of the experimentation that was actually taking place on stages elsewhere in the world (in many cases inspired by his own work). The received 'failure' of his Moscow *Hamlet* left him with one stage only where he could experiment with his monodramatic obsessions: *The Mask*. Whether as substitute, extension, symbol of the material stage, *The Mask* presents Craig with an arena where he can fulfil most of his ambitions, artistic and otherwise, if not in a concrete way, at least to enact them in a symbolic way.

8.3. 'You philosophize like a poet'.

The above phrase from one of Dostoevsky's[18] letters (borrowed by Sologub in his theoretical works on theatre) implies the style that such a narrative adopts. Sologub calls upon the epigram to justify his somewhat whimsical and haphazard writing.

> Perhaps the transition in thought here may seem rather abrupt - but I am not arguing rationally (not that I am incapable of doing so) but simply propounding my one idea, 'I philosophize like a poet'.'[19]

Likewise Craig could revise the epigram as 'You philosophize like an Artist of the theatre'. Not having to remain faithful to one particular narrative thread throughout *The Mask*, Craig employs almost any style he wishes. Ranging from historical to expository writing, his text exhibits his ability to move very smoothly from style to style. Having built up quite complicated characters for his pseudonyms, he maintains the pretence by presenting each of them with very different styles.

Such stylistic exuberance makes *The Mask* very interesting. There are many instances where Craig, under a pseudonym, writes a letter to himself and then proceeds to answer it under yet another name with a style to match. This schizophrenic discourse imposes the suspension of belief strategy on its readers in a very powerful manner. The readership/audience of *The Mask* is probably aware of the fact that the 'authors' are one and the same person[20] and Craig uses this as another instance to play more 'theatrical' tricks on his readers:

> ... And if I may express a second wish, it is that you do not start your letter with, 'Dear Horace... I know you are Gordon Craig in another mask... and so I will begin by saying "Look here, Craig, my first quarrel is with you... why the deuce, etc. etc".' Don't, I beg, begin in that gracious tone. For even if I am not Gordon Craig, I have been working a good deal longer at this craft than you, and to be a whipper-snapper (if only in manner) does not become you any the better just because you hail from America.[21]

Jokes like the above are more of the stage than they are of the written page. At times it seems almost as though Craig gets carried away by his own rhetoric. Certain passages read as if he really *believes* he can be all the different masks he embodies. In an

introduction, signed by himslf, he writes:

It took me some time to see that a group could make a Foolish Drama with far better ease than I could alone. I now sit round a table... I and Tom and It... and having brought out different notes or parts of MS., we talk over and over. What anyone of us does not like ... objects strongly to... we cut out. *Only what we are all agreed upon* - be it in a scene - only that do we leave in.[22]

The '*we*' of this quotation is far less obvious than that of the previous one. Reading it we are led to believe, following Craig's example, that it really does involve more than one person.

'Philosophizing like a poet' also allows Craig to be as whimsical and eccentric as he pleases with his narrative. Applying modes as diverse as aphorisms, epigrams or fairy tales Craig uses quite a degree of poetic licence in his text. One of the oldest narrative techniques for poetic philosophizing is the dialogue. Craig constructs dialogues to put forward his ideas on the theatre rather as Wilde wrote dialogues to promote his ideas on aesthetics. All his dialogues on the art of the theatre are printed in *The Mask*. Although they add a dramatic element to the writing, dialogue narratives (that are not meant to be performed) also display a transference of dramatic action onto the page. It is not purely coincidental that Plato, one of the first to employ the philosophical dialogue, was a fierce opponent of theatrical art. As a narrative the dialogue is one of the purest classical modes. It is conservative, didactic, and enacts in words the action that should take place on a stage. In short, it two-dimensionalizes the three-dimensional quality of the stage, giving prevalence to the written word over the other more physical aspects of

the theatre. The dialogue stresses theatre as literature rather than as praxis. For someone who was concerned about the 'tyranny of the word' on the stage, it seems odd that he was also enraptured with the intricacies of the written word . If we treat the whole *Mask* project as a transference of Craig's urge to direct and materialize his ideas on the theatre, his narrative indulgences appear as a logical consequence. For reasons which have been presented throughout this analysis, *The Mask* was the only constant 'stage' Craig could work on. As a periodical it only allowed for innovation in certain fields. Layout, presentation and narrative were areas where Craig could be as experimental and adventurous as he wished. And the more *The Mask* became a surrogate performance the more baroque the narrative got. The narrative devices were to be the 'set' of this meta-theatrical performance.

All these highly literary and writerly devices underline the fact that, for a man who was vehemently anti-Shavian and anti-theatre of ideas, with *The Mask* Craig produces a quasi-Shavian 'drama of ideas' of extreme verbosity. Just after Shaw's *Man and Superman*, *The Mask* is Craig's *Puppet and Uberpuppet.* And just as Shaw, in a drama like *The Apple Cart* alternates scenes of prose and pure theatre, so Craig runs *The Mask* as a verbal debate while dreaming of pure theatre.

Certain aspects of the work presented in *The Mask* demanded rigorous academic research, i.e. the work on Oriental theatre or the Commedia dell'Arte. Usually the scholarly work was done by others. Craig was involved in much of the research, but did not necessarily

take much pride in that aspect of *The Mask*. Facts did not interest him. He writes:

> We are here on earth to live, not to die. We happen to die, but it doesn't make it any less certain that we are here to live; to create, not to kill.
> Now the historian has always done his very best to kill us. Oh, I know how fascinating a book of facts and dates can be. But a clerk can do that work. It does not need a real dead alive historian. What I object to is all *the evidence* of the historian; that's what kills.[223]

Displaying a common modernist scorn of history Craig conceives it as boring, irrelevant and not aesthetic enough. Accuracy, fact and historicity do not have a primary interest for him. Consequently his studies of Oriental theatre or of the Commedia were only useful as potential material for adopting and appropriating. Ironically, of course, much of the material presented in these areas *was* full of facts and historical evidence. As this was not the main issue, however, the people conducting such research for *The Mask* were given very little credit or simply none at all. *The Mask* was to be a solo performance.

8.4. Women as Masks: Dorothy Nevile Lees, Isadora Duncan, Ellen Terry.

In actual fact, far from being a one-man show, *The Mask* was, in the mechanics of its preparation and production, a collective project. In a typically Craigian way, the contribution of Dorothy Nevile Lees has generally been neglected. Lees's role in the whole *Mask* project was very formative indeed. Her scholarly contributions,

especially on the Commedia dell'Arte, were very valuable and made much new material accessible to the English-speaking public. When Craig was away, as he often was, on trips in Europe or Russia, she would assume the role of the editor. She shared many pseudonyms with Craig[224]. Like an understudy, she would step in when Craig was busy doing other things. Her role was never publicly acknowledged by him, and it is mainly due to Lorelei Guidry's introduction to her *Index to The Mask* that we are aware of her. Considering his fervent anti-feminist stance, it is surprising she was allowed to be seen to participate at all. As long as Lees remained hidden behind another mask, Craig's phallocentric notions on art and the artist weren't threatened. The assumption was that he too was only acting as a medium for the 'artistic genius'. Having succumbed to the cult of impersonality, Craig might have believed that he actually did not exist as a separate entity and was only functioning as an agent of artistic genius. His metaphorical disappearance, though, led to a very literal one for Dorothy Nevile Lees. Despite all her work and devotion there is very little trace of her among the by-lines of *The Mask*. If anyone was practising 'impersonality' it was her.

In 1917 Lees acted to save the Arena Goldoni from requisition by the authorites due to the war. The troops eventually requisitioned it, but all the equipment and the belongings of the school were saved. While all this was going on Craig was in Rome, delivering instructions from there. As his son Edward Craig records 'D.N.L. had done a marvellous job':

Then came more startling news: D. N. L. announced that she was expecting a child by him. As usual when confronted with such a situation, he felt quite lost, for he had been incapable of coping with emotional situations all his life. Without D. N. L's help *The Mask* could not have existed - for the last nine years she had dedicated her life to him and his work; she had helped to finance *The Mask* during one or two difficult times. Now he would dearly like to help *her* but he was not in a position to do so - he had just written to Elena begging her to come over with the children, telling her of a wonderful scheme involving the use of marionettes that he wanted them all to work on, and it was all he could do to find enough money for their fares.[25]

It is interesting to note that Craig's son also continues 'the woman behind the man' myth in his narrative. Dorothy Nevile Lees remains D. N. L., never quite aquiring a full name. She is referred to as a 'helper', as a useful person for Craig to have had around. Craig's general attitude is attributed to some vague notion of 'emotional deficiency'. This is tolerated, even expected, from an 'artistic genius'. Misogyny and the artistic act go hand in hand in this framework. At the end of the quotation we see that Craig is eager for Elena to arrive to put her to work as well on his new 'wonderful scheme'. This is not merely a case of using the personal to interpret the artistic. It is the scheme of things itself that allows such approaches. By definition the artist would be masculine. Together with most Modernists Craig conceives of the artistic act as phallic (Pound's 'poetry writes in phallic direction'). The artist has the right to reinvent himself only on the image of man. The artistic process becomes an engendering process as well. In an article entitled 'A Word about Schopenhauer and the Feminist Movement', John Semar gives us his philosophical background:

One only need look at a woman's shape to discover that she is not intended for either too much mental or too much physical work.

Women are directly adapted to act as the nurses and educators of our early childhood, for the simple reason that they themslves are childish, foolish, and short-sighted... in a word, are big children all their lives, something intermediate between the child and the man, who is a man in the strict sense of the word.[26]

This gives Craig the philosophical justification to totally consume the contribution of women like Dorothy Neville Lees. If they are something 'between the child and the man', with no separate and distinct identity, it seems only natural that their efforts be appropriated by men. The irony, of course, lies in the fact that Craig's mother Ellen Terry was one of the most dynamic and iconoclastic women of her time. Much of Craig's resentment and fear may stem from this fact.

Craig, in many ways, defined himself against his mother. The figure of the great Ellen Terry, whom he adored, followed him all his life. He had enough difficulty as it was collaborating with male artists. His suspicions and phobias were particularly sensitized when it came to women collaborators. As he wrote to Isadora Duncan:

Woman as a rule being the most material packet of goods on this earth, makes a good effort to kill the desire for an Ideal... and is trying to break the man of his worship of King-monarch - Stars and Gods - that he may have no other gods than Her. And she will succeed until she reaches the artist, and then she will utter a shriek and like the sphinx will throw herself off the cliff...[27]

This is a letter to a woman who had revolutionized dance, and who had defied the moral code of her time to have a child with Craig. It is significant that it was Oedipus who killed the sphinx. Craig's obsession with *Hamlet* has been investigated with emphasis on the

monodramatic dimension of his interpretation. Craig found many parallels in the play. He saw himself as Hamlet and his mother as Gertrude. In the *Index to the Story of my Days* he writes:

I too had lost a father. I too saw my mother married to another ... I was always haunted by this father who was, yet no longer was there.[28]

Craig's personal obsessions seem to become justified theoretically within the framework he was using. His misogyny appears naturalized and whatever his problems with his mother were they are displaced in a model that allows for his every whim and caprice, not only in the form of tolerance but celebration and elevation to an ideal. *The Mask*, as a stage for him to bear his soul, and as a technique to do it by, aestheticizes Craig himself in a scheme that fuses the personal with the artistic and historical. The Arena Goldoni generates the Arena Craig.

Craig's inability to collaborate with other artists is a common theme in all studies of his work. This fact stresses his *monodramatic* mania which derives from both artistic and personal preoccupations. Francis Steegmuller wrote on this:

He obsessively insisted on his 'independence' - but much of what he called 'independence' was fear of the world.... Edward A. Craig links his father's fear and his defensive arrogance to the pall of illegitimate birth. The fears that prevented Craig from working with others were reproduced in his private associations.[29]

Whether deriving from the personal or the public spheres, Craig was a monomaniac. As an 'artistic genius' behind a mask he had the right to appropriate and consume the work of others - and it became all the

more necessary if these others were women. His attempts to work with Eleonora Duse proved disastrous. The most outstanding disaster in these terms was his relationship with Isadora Duncan. A passionate love affair went sour soon after she had had their daughter. Isadora Duncan and Ellen Terry had much in common. Both were renowned, non-compromising artists, and both had had children to the outrage of the society around them. Had Craig collaborated with Isadora Duncan artistically the results might have been very interesting indeed. As it was, much of Craig's writing on movement seems influenced by Isadora Duncan's experiments in dance. However, Isadora Duncan was too much like Ellen Terry, and, despite their mutual love and desire, the possibitity of an artistic partnership seemed inconceivable: similar attempts to work with his mother received mixed reviews. Isadora Duncan writes in *My Life*:

> I adored Craig ... but I realized that our separation was inevitble.. To live with him was to renounce my art, my personality, nay perhaps my life, my reason. To live without him was to be in a continual state of depression, and tortured by jealousy, for which, alas! it now seemed I had good cause... All this drove me to fits of alternate fury and despair. I could not work, I could not dance... I realized that this state of things must cease. Either Craig's Art or mine - to give up my Art I knew to be impossible... I must find a remedy.[30]

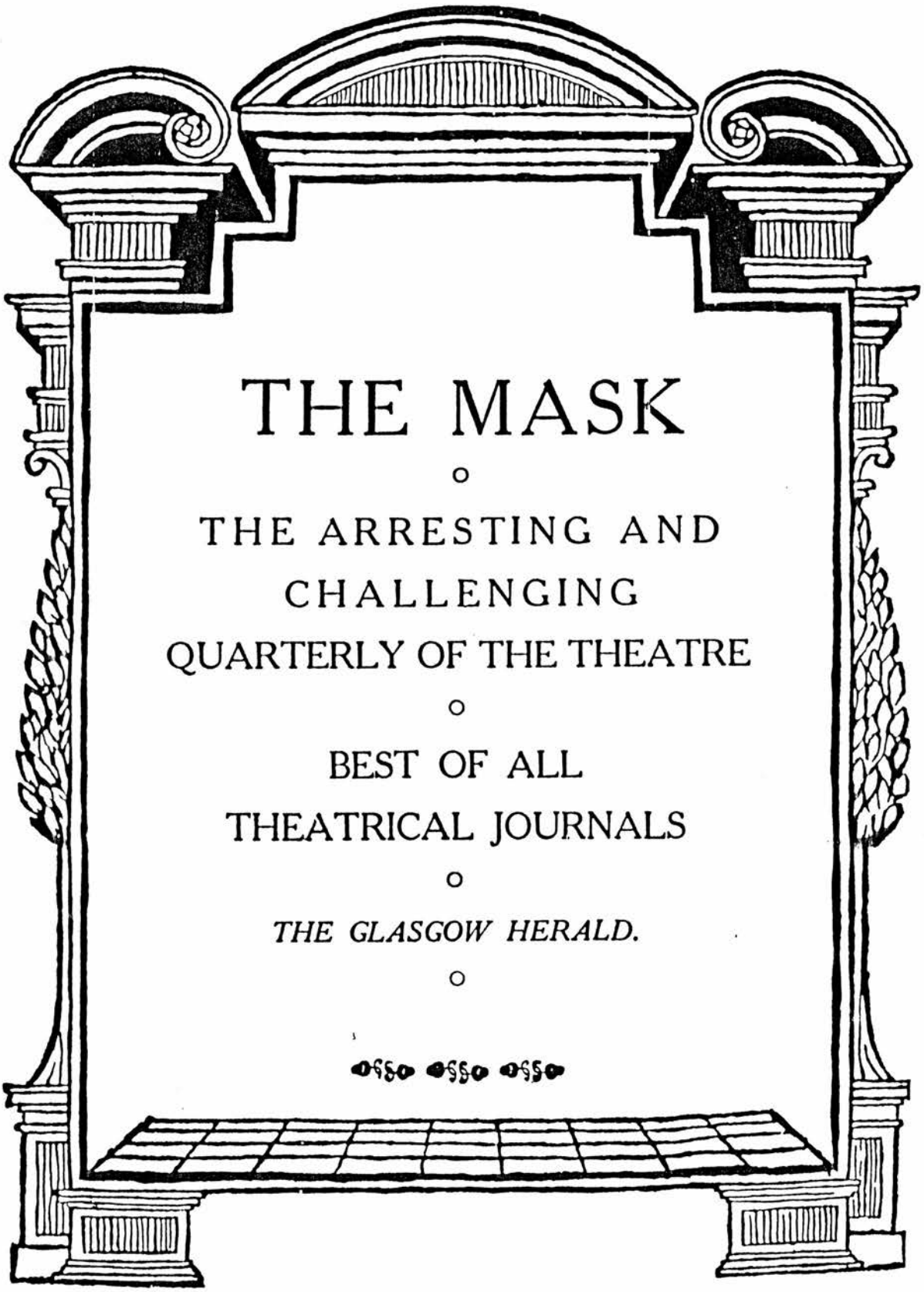
The *Mask* was definitely a *monodramatic* project. Craig, whether as masked-playwright, or ventriloquist, or puppet, or master of ceremonies was the centre of the whole affair. *The Mask* existed to present both his art and himself, since he worked within a model that did not differentiate between the two. *The Mask* was to expose and articulate Craig's ideas *and* Craig's psyche. It was to be the workshop that could mould the art of the theatre *and* its artist.

In moulding his artistic self through *The Mask*, Craig was characteristically exemplifying a modernist preoccupation. This artistic self, like his *Ubermarionette* was to be impersonal, with no history or psychology. In pursuing the cult of impersonality, like his literary counterparts Craig ends up articulating a totalizing discourse. In Craig's case this expressed itself in the figure of the all-powerful director. Craig's flirtations with fascism express his search for an ideological model that can accommodate such a figure. However unlike Pound (and Eliot in many respects), he was not 'modern' enough to reach eschatological solutions and become a wholehearted advocate of fascism.

In modernist theatre this loss of the artist in the art form follows a twofold direction. In general, experimentation in total theatre can be seen deriving from two very distinct theoretical backgrounds. The first is rooted in idealist extensions of a Judaeo-Christian tradition and manifests itself in apocalyptic and mythopoeic modes. The artist of such a theatre exists only to be 'sacrificed' in a ritual that aspires to collective notions of consciousness and sub-consciousness. History for this model is replaced by metaphysics. The high priest of this expression of performance theory is Artaud. The artist of this model is the sacrificial scape-goat. Artaud's madness is not at all coincidental in this framework (nor is Pound's). On the other hand, the second tradition, as epitomised by Brecht, is consistently secular in its commitment to history. The ideology that reconstructs the artist is seen as a political one. The role appointed is also 'impersonal', as the artist now exists to promote and

exemplify his commitment to history. Both approaches reconstruct the role of the artist: one in the body of the sub-conscious, the other in the body-politic.

Craig falls between these two traditions in total theatre. Not extreme, nor modern, nor political enough to embody either, *The Mask* enacts the tensions of somehow being trapped. A performance that is not really a performance, modern but not modern enough, political but not really: are all traits of *The Mask* that make the periodical fascinating and at the same time dictate its sometimes distressing limitations.


THE MASK
THE ARRESTING AND
CHALLENGING
QUARTERLY OF THE THEATRE
BEST OF ALL
THEATRICAL JOURNALS
THE GLASGOW HERALD.

NOTES

Edward Gordon Craig is referred to as EGC.
The Mask (Florence, 1908-1929), is quoted here from the reprinted edition (New York, 1967), but the dates given are from the original edition i.e. *The Mask*, Vol. 1, 1908, p. 1.

CHAPTER I

1. *The Mask*, Vol 12, No. 4, p. II, 1927. A considerable number of the advertisements in *The Mask* refer to the periodical itself (both those originally designed for its pages and reprints from other journals favourably reviewing it). The effect smacks of Art Nouveau narcissism.

2. Ray Watkinson, *William Morris as Designer* (London, 1967), p. 69. The contributions of William Morris and the British architectural revival to the idea of the Book Beautiful are studied by Watkinson. He quotes William Morris as saying, 'I began printing books with the hope of producing some which would have a definite claim to beauty'.

3. William Blake is seen by most art critics as a major forerunner of Art Nouveau. For his influence, see Robert Schmutzler, *Art Nouveau* (London, 1962), pp. 35-47. Blake is quoted or referred to in *The Mask* in the following issues: Vol. 1, pp. 53-54; pp. 212-256; Vol. 3, p. 81; Vol. 4, p. 157, pp. 181-182; Vol. 5, p. 91; Vol. 8, pp. 9-11; Vol. 13, p. 40, p. 46, p. 82; Vol. 14, pp. 11-13, p. 37, p. 130.

4. EGC, *Index to The Story of My Days* (London, 1957), p. 191. John Russell Taylor, talking about the layout of this particular book in *The Art Nouveau Book in Britain* (Edinburgh, 1966), p. 147, refers to it as 'the last direct issue of the Nineties book'. The book itself is not genuinely a diary as it was written in retrospect and appears more in the form of recollections. *The Page* (1898-1901), in line with the spirit of the journals of the time, announces itself as 'a publication in which one finds original Poems, Prose, Music, Woodcuts, Posters, Portraits, Bookplates, and other curious things. *The Page*(1898-1901), British Library, Department of Printed Books, 2 Vols.

5. The most influential British periodicals at the turn of the century were:

The Dial, London, 1889-1897
The Dome, London, 1897-1900
The Evergreen, Edinburgh, 1895-1897
The Pageant, London, 1896-1897
The Savoy, London, 1896
The Studio, London, 1893
The Yellow Book, London, 1894-1897.

At the same time the most important continental periodicals were:

Art et Decoration, Paris, 1897
Die Kunst, Munich, 1899-1945
Mir Isskustva, St. Petersburg, 1899-1904

Pan, Berlin, 1895-1900
Simplizissimus, Munich, 1896
Ver Sacrum, Vienna, 1898; Leipzig, 1899-1903.

For further analysis and detailed index of periodicals see Robert Schmutzler, note 3.

6. *The Studio* was the most long-lived of all these periodicals, being published until 1963 under the same title and continuing from 1964 to 1967 under the title of *Studio International*.

7. See Bryan Holme, *The Studio: A Bibliography. The First Fifty Years 1893-1943* (London, 1978), p. 5.

8. Edward Craig, *Gordon Craig, The Story of his Life* (London, 1968), p. 230.

9. Quoted in *The Mask*, Vol. 1, No. 8, 1908, p. II, III.

10. Craig's collaboration with *The Dome* mainly consisted of illustration, designs and advertisements. His most important work in *The Dome* was: *Dumas Papa*, a wood-cut, Vol. 11, No. 4, p. 63; *A Poster* and *A Pictorial Post-Card*, both from wood blocks, Vol. 11, No. 6, p. 253, p. 254.

11. *The Dome*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1898, p. 1.

12. Richard Buckle, *In Search of Diaghilev* (London, 1955), p. 55.

13. Ibid., p. 12.

14. *The Mask*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1914, p. 65.

15. *The Imprint*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (London, 1913), pp 10-17.

16. Ibid., p. 17. *The Mask of Envy* by EGC in *The Imprint* is a reprint of the original which first appeared in *The Mask*, Vol. 1, Nos. 3-4, 1908. p. 90.

17. Ibid., p. 95. In the same number, p. 121, J. H. Mason reviews *A Living Theatre* by EGC and criticizes it along the same lines.

18. *The Mask*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 1913, pp. 181-182.

19. Edward Craig, *Gordon Craig*, see note 8, p. 231-232.

20. Ibid., p. 232.

21. See John Russell Taylor, note 6, pp. 17-20. He examines the differences between the British and the continental Art Nouveau styles.

22. EGC, *Index to the Story of My Days*, pp. 251-252.

23. Ibid., p. 268.

CHAPTER II

1. *Blast*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1915, p. 1. For a further analysis of Wyndham Lewis's view of the 'Nietzschean Cult' see, 'Nietzsche as Vulgarizer' in his *The Art of Being Ruled* (1926), rpt. in *Wyndham Lewis, An Anthology of his Prose*, ed. E. W. F. Tomlin (London, 1969).

2. Nietzsche's polemic prose, aphoristic and visionary was seen as theoretically justifying much of the horror created by World War I. Passages like the following from *The Gay Science* were seen as heralding the Futurist idea of war as 'the hygiene of the world'. Nietzsche writes:

I greet all the signs that a more manly, warlike age is coming, which will, above all, bring valour again into honour! For it has to prepare the way for a yet higher age, and assemble the force which that age will one day have need of - that age which will carry heroism into knowledge and *wage war* for the sake of ideas and their consequences. To that end many brave pioneers are needed now...: men who know how to be silent, solitary, resolute, ... who have an innate disposition to seek in all things that which must be *overcome* in them: men to whom cheerfulness, patience, simplicity and contempt for the great vanities belong just as much as do generosity in victory and indulgence towards the little vanities of the defeated: ... men with their own festivals, their own work-days, their own days of mourning, accustomed to and assured in command and equally ready to obey when necessary, equally proud in the one case as in the other, equally serving their own cause: men more imperilled, men more fruitful, happier men! See *The Gay Science*, (1882) trans. Walter Kaufmann (New York, 1974), p. 283

3. See Patrick Bridgwater, *Nietzsche in Anglosaxony. A Study of Nietzsche's Impact on English and American Literature* (Leicester, 1972), chapters 1-10.

4. *Fabian News*, Vol. 8 (5 July, 1898), p. 17. Quoted in Patrick Bridgwater, p. 14.

5. *The Outlook* (8 July, 1899), pp. 746-8. Quoted in Patrick Bridgwater, p. 15.

6. See M. S. Silk and J. P. Stern, *Nietzsche on Tragedy* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 87.

7. Nietzsche is quoted or referred to in *The Mask* in the following issues: Vol. 1, p. 8, p. 56, p. 141; Vol. 2, pp. 94-95, p. 164; Vol. 4, p. 24; Vol. 5, p. 15, p. 77, pp. 91-92, p. 109, p. 172; Vol. 6, p. 237; Vol. 11, p. 80.

All of the above are citings by Craig himself, either under his name or one of his numerous pseudonyms.

8. The philosophy of Schopenhauer is analysed by Craig in *The Mask*, Vol. 7, 1914, pp. 1-14.

9. The influence of Nietzsche in Craig's early books (*The Art of the Theatre, Towards a New Theatre*) is of a different order. Like most of the avant-garde of the period, and mainly through the influence of Isadora Duncan, Craig shares Nietzsche's fascination with Greek art, but does not mention or quote the German philosopher in his books. In these Craig is mainly interested in presenting his own theories, rather than explicitly stating his sources and influences; something which he does not hesitate to do in *The Mask*.

10. See M. S. Silk and J. P. Stern, Note 6, p. 88.

11. Quoted by Warren E. Steinkraus in *Art and Logic in Hegel's Philosophy* (Sussex, 1980), p. 29.

12. *The Mask*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1911, p. 22-23.

13. Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Gay Science* (1882), trans. Walter Kaufmann (New York, 1974), p. 299.

14. Walter Pater, *The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry* (1873), rpt. Library Edition (London, 1913), pp. 213-14.

15. *The Mask*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1911, p. 24.

16. See Walter Pater, Note 14, p. 236.

17. Arthur Symons, *William Blake* (London, 1907), p. 8.

18. Quoted in Patrick Gardiner, *Schopenhauer* (Harmondsworth, 1971). See more generally the chapter entitled 'The Nature of Art', pp. 187-234.

19. Friedrich Nietzsche, *Dithyrambs of Dionysus*, trans. R. J. Hollingdale (London, 1984), p. 17.

20. *The Mask*, Vol. 6, No. 3, 1913, pp. 234-237.

21. Havelock Ellis in *The Savoy*, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 1896. This series of three articles by Ellis presented one of the first sympathetic essays on Nietzsche in English. See Bridgwater, Note 3, pp. 12-14.

22. Richard Wagner is referred to or quoted in *The Mask* in the following issues: Vol. 1, p. 20, p. 56, p. 89; Vol. 3, pp. 132-33; Vol. 4, pp. 255-57; Vol. 11, pp. 187-88; Vol. 13, pp. 173-74; Vol. 14, p. 36.

23. Quoted in Christopher Innes, *Edward Gordon Craig* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 35.

24. Ibid., p. 45.

25. Pater's statement is used in the very first issue of *The Mask* (1908), and appears thereafter very frequently, introducing a variety of articles.

26. See Walter Pater, Note 11, p. 134.

27. Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy*, 1872, sect. 4, in Vol.1 of *The Works of Friedrich Nietzsche*, eds. A. Tille, T. Fisher Unwin 1899-1903. For the parallels between the work of Nietzsche and Pater see Wolfgang Iser, *Walter Pater. The Aesthetic Moment*, trans. David Henry Wilson (Cambridge, 1987). In particular see Part II entitled 'Autonomous Art'.

28. See Patrick Gardiner, Note 18, p. 233. For a discussion of Schopenhauer's views on music see pp. 229-234.

29. *The Mask*, Vol. 2, Nos. 10-12, 1909, p. 164.

30. EGC, *The Art of the Theatre* (London, 1905), pp. 56-57.

31. Theodor Adorno, *In Search of Wagner*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (Manchester, 1981), p. 91.

32. Quoted in *The Mask*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1912, p. 103.

33. Ibid., p. 97.

34. Walter Benjamin, *Schriften*, 2 Vols, Vol. 1 (Frankfurt, 1955), p. 418.

35. Eleonora Duse is quoted in *The Mask* in the following issues: Vol. 1, pp. 12-13, p. 22; Vol. 2, p. 82; Vol. 4, p. 3, pp. 4-6, p. 33; Vol. 8, p. 41; Vol. 10, p. 41, p. 43, p. 118; Vol. 11, p. 92, p. 149; Vol. 13, p. 49, p. 157.

36. EGC, Daybook 1, 1908-10, Humanities Research Centre, University of Texas at Austin.

37. Laurence Senelick, ed, and trans., *Russian Dramatic Theory from Pushkin to the Symbolists, An Anthology* (Austin, Texas, 1981), p. xxxviii.

38. Fyodor Sologub. 'The Theatre of a Single Will', in Laurence Senelick, note 37, pp. 132-148.

39. Nikolay Evreinov, 'Introduction to Monodrama' in Laurence Senelick, pp. 183-199.

40. Ibid., p. 188.

41. See Edward Braun, ed. and trans., *Meyerhold on Theatre* (London, 1969), pp. 111-112.

42. See Laurence Senelick, note 37, pp. 289-290.

43. Edouard Schure, 'The Theatre of the Soul', in *The Mask*, Vol. 4, No. 3, 1912, pp. 171-179.

44. Ibid., p. 173.

45. See Theodor Adorno, note 31, p. 87.

46. EGC, *Index to the Story of My Days* (London, 1957), p. 106.

47. Ibid., p. 7.

48. For the impact of William Blake on the late 19th century see Deborah Dorfman, *Blake in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1969).

49. *The Mask*, Vol. 8, No. 3, 1915, p. 10.

50. *The Mask*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1912, pp. 91-92, p. 91.

51. Quoted in *Walt Whitman. The Critical Heritage*, ed. Milton Hindus (London, 1971), p. 134.

52. Ibid., pp. 243-245. Quoted from Max Nordau, *Degeneration* (London, 1895). See Chapter III, book V 'Ego-mania', on Nietzsche.

53. Ibid., p. 132-133. From unsigned review of *Poems by Walt Whitman: Selected and Edited by William Rossetti 1868, Saturday Review* (London, 2 May, 1868), pp. 589-90.

54. *The Mask*, Vol. 8, No. 3, 1915, p. 10.

55. Walt Whitman appears in *The Mask* in the following issues: Vol. 1, p. 123; Vol. 3, p. 88; Vol. 4, No. 1: frontispiece, pp. 1-3, p. 27; Vol. 5, p. 92, p. 273; Vol. 8, p. 4, p. 43.

56. *The Mask*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1912, p. 92.

57. Quoted in *The Mask*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1911, p. 7.

CHAPTER III

1. Wilhelm Worringer, *Abstraction and Empathy: A Contribution to the Psychology of Style*, 1908, trans. Michael Bullock (London, 1953).

2. Ibid., p. 4.

3. Ibid., p. 3.

4. Ibid., p. 15.

5. Ibid., p. 24.

6. Quoted in Charles Harrison, *English Art and Modernism 1900-1939* (London, 1981), p. 96.

7. The terms Modernism and Modernity are not used as synonyms here, although they certainly overlap. Modernism is used to refer to literary and artistic movements from 1900-1930, whereas Modernity refers to the overall modern experience, which covers broader changes in politics and society over the same period.

8. The main groups in Europe of the period, usually centred round a periodical and combining aesthetic aspirations with political ones were: The Bridge (1905), The Blue Rider (1911), The New Club (1909), The Storm (1910), The Action (1911), Schoenberg's Society for the Private Performance of Music (1918), The November Group (1919), Glass Chain (1920), The Bauhaus (1919)

9. Quoted from the *First Proclamation of the Weimar Bauhaus* 1919, in Barry Herbert and Alisdair Hinshelwood, *The Expressionist Revolution in German Art 1871-1933 (Leicestershire Museums and Art Gallery, Leicestershire Museums, 1978), p. 26.*

10. See Charles Harrison, note 6, p. 17.

11. Futurism appears in *The Mask* in the following issues: Vol. 4, pp. 277-81, p. 356; Vol. 5, p. 89, p. 174; Vol. 6, pp. 188-200.

12. See Charles Harrison, note 6, p. 87.

13. 'Futurism and The Theatre: A Futurist Manifesto' by Marinetti in *The Mask*, trans. Dorothy Neville Lees, Vol. 6, 1913, pp. 188-193.

14. Ibid., article by EGC following the above manifesto. p.196.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid., p. 198

17. *The Mask*, Vol. 8, 1915, p. 29.

18. *The Mask*, Vol. 7, 1914, p. 133.

19. See note 13, p. 198.

20. See Charles Harrison, note 6, p. 16.

21. *The Mask*, Vol. 4, 1912, p. 356.

22. Ibid., p. 89.

23. Quoted in Umbro Apollonio ed., *Futurist Manifestos* (London, 1973), p. 7.

24. Wassily Kandinsky, Franz Marc eds., *The Blaue Reiter Almanac, ed. Klaus Lankheit, trans. Henning Falkenstein* (London, 1974), p. 252.

25. Ibid., p. 250.

26. Ibid., p. 201.

27. Ibid., p. 130-1.

28. *The Mask*, Vol. 12, 1927, p. 158.

29. *The Mask*, Vol. 6, 1913, pp. 197.

30. Ibid., p. 97.

31. Ibid., p. 97.

32. For a more elaborate discussion on Orientalism in *The Mask* see chapter V.

33. Craig designed a ballet, *Psyche*, for Diaghilev in 1906-7. This was turned down by Diaghilev for what could have been a number of reasons. See *Edward Gordon Craig: Designs for the Theatre* (London, 1948), p. 8, p. 18.

34. *The Mask*, Vol. 4, 1911, pp. 97-101.

35. Ibid., p. 98.

36. Ibid., p. 99.

37. Ibid., p. 101.

38. Ibid., in Editorial Notes, p. 266.

39. *The Mask*, Vol. 6, 1913, p. 92.

40. See Fyodor Sologub, 'The Theatre of a Single Will', in Laurence Senelick, ed. and trans., *Russian Dramatic Theory from Pushkin to the Symbolists, An Anthology*, Chapter 2, note 37, pp. 132-148.

41. Quoted in Laurence Senelick, 'Moscow and Monodrama: The Meaning of the Craig-Stanislavsky *Hamlet*', in *Theatre Research International*, Vol. 6 (1981), pp. 109-124, p. 114.

42. *The Mask, Vol. 3, 1910, pp. 34-35.*

43. Ibid., pp. 41-42.

44. The Mask, Vol. 4, 1911, p. 97.

45. *The Mask*, Vol. 10, 1924, p. 188.

46. *The Mask*, Vol. 7, 1914, p. 85.

47. Ibid., p. 86-87.

48. *The Mask*, Vol. 3, 1910, p. 189.

49. *The Mask*, Vol. 13, 1927, pp. 102-5.

50. Ibid., p. 103.

51. Harry Kessler, *The Diaries of a Cosmopolitan. Count Harry Kessler, 1918-1937*, trans. Charles Kessler (London, 1971), p. 194.

52. Ibid., p. 194.

53. Ibid., p. 194-5.

54. *The Mask*, Vol. 3, 1910, pp. 190-1.

55. W.B. Yeats appears in *The Mask* in the following issues: Vol. 2, p. 148; Vol. 4, p. 61, p. 161; Vol. 5, p. 2; Vol. 7, p. 139, 174; Vol. 9, p. 50; Vol. 10, p. 66; *The Hour Glass*, vol. 3, no. 4, frontispiece; Vol. 3, pp. 190-92; Vol. 5, pp. 327-46 (play and preface printed); Vol. 7, p. 174; *Per Amica Silentia Lunae* (rev), Vol. 8, p. 39; *Plays and Controversies* (rev), Vol. 10, p. 90; *Plays for an Irish Theatre*, illustrated by Gordon Craig Vol. 4, pp. 342-43 (rev); Vol. 7, pp. 139-40; 'The Tragic Theatre' (article), Vol. 3, p. 77.

56. *The Mask*, Vol. 5, 1915, p. 2.

57. Ibid., p. 2

58. *The Mask*, Vol. 10, 1924, p. 90.

CHAPTER IV

1. Toby Cole and Helen Krich Chinoy eds., *Directors on Directing*, 3rd edition (London, 1970), see introduction, pp. 3-77, p. 9.

2. H. A. Jones, *Preface to Saints and Sinners*, in *The Renascence of the English Drama* (London, 1895), p. 314. Quoted in James Woodfield, *English Theatre in Transition 1881-1914*, (London, 1984), p. 6.

3. Lynton Hudson, *The English Stage 1850-1950* (London, 1951), p. 123. Quoted in James Woodfield, note 2, p. 7.

4. William Archer, 'The Drama in the Doldrums', quoted in James Woodfield, p. 8.

5. Although the so-called 'New Movement' was chiefly responsible for formulating a theory for the role of the director, there were native, English predecessors and Craig is not unaware of this fact. He writes in his *Henry Irving* 'Charles Kean, Charles Mathews (sic), and Macready had been actor managers before Irving - and I fancy that Charles Kean was one of the very best of men to fill this special calling. But Charles Kean would seem to have been less actor than manager, and should have been called a manager actor'. See EGC, *Henry Irving* (London, 1930), p. 142.

6. See James Woodfield, note 2, p. 9.

7. Ibid., p. 11.

8. 'A Winter Wealtheries', *Truth*, Vol. 16, 1884, p. 14, also quoted in James Woodfield, see note 6, p. 10.

9. See Laurence Senelick, 'The Craig-Stanislavsky *Hamlet* at the Moscow Art Theatre', *Theatre Quarterly*, Vol. 6, No. 22, 1976, pp. 56-122 for an authoritative documentation of the production.

10. *The Mask*, Vol. 2, 1910, p. 145.

11. Allardyce Nicoll, *English Drama 1900-1930. The Beginnings of the Modern Theatre* (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 109-10.

12. See Muriel St. Clair Byrne, 'Charles Kean and the Meininger Myth', *Theatre Research*, Vol. 6, No. 3. For a study on the English response see 'What We Said about the Meiningers in 1881', *Essays and Studies*, Vol. 18, 1965, pp. 62 ff.

13. For a history of the Meiningen Theatre see Max Grube, *The Story of the Meininger*, trans. A. M. Koller (Miami, 1963).

14. Quoted in John Osborne, 'From Political to Cultural Despotism: the Nature of the Saxe-Meiningen Aesthetic', *Theatre Quarterly*, Vol. 5, No. 17, p. 48.

15. Quoted from *Essays and Studies* in Edward Braun , *The Director and the Stage* (London, 1982), p. 15. See chapter on *The Meiningen Theatre*, pp. 11-21.

16. *The Mask*, Vol. 12, 1927, p. 49.

17. *The Mask*, Vol. 11, 1925, p. 144.

18. Isadora Duncan, *My Life* 1928, rpt. (London, 1968), p. 219.

19. Lee Simonson, *The Stage Is Set* 1932, rpt. (New York, 1970), p. 320. For a full account of Lee Simonson's critique see chapter III, 'Day-Dreams: The Case of Gordon Craig', pp. 309-350.

20. Quoted in John Stokes, *Resistible Theatres* (London, 1972), p. 122.

21. Ibid., p. 120.

22. See André Antoine, *Memories of the Théâtre Libre*, trans. M. Carlson (Miami, 1964), p. 47.

23. Quoted in John Stokes, see note 20, p. 121.

24. *The Mask*, Vol. 12*bis*, 1927, pp. 35-36.

25. Ibid., p. 36.

26. See Ronald Hingley, ed. and trans., *The Oxford Chekhov*, Vol. 3, (Oxford, 1964), pp. 325-329. Also see Constantin Stanislavsky, *My Life in Art*, 1948, rpt. (London, 1980), p. 420. Chekhov once said, mocking Stanislavsky's detailed Naturalism, 'I shall write a new play and it will begin with a character saying: "How wonderfully quiet it is! There are no birds to be heard, no dogs, no cuckoos, no owls, no nightingales, no clocks, no harness bells, and not a single cricket."'

27. *The Mask*, Vol. 12*bis*, 1927, p. 36.

28. Ibid., p. 36.

29. Quoted in Edward Braun, see note 15, p. 42.

30. Quoted in Edward Craig, *Gordon Craig* (London, 1968), p. 216.

31. For an account of the Théâtre de l'Oeuvre's season in London see John Stokes, note 20, pp. 168-172. For a general introduction to Symbolism see Chales Chadwick, *Symbolism* (London 1971). For a study of symbolist painters and the theatre see Robert Goldwater, *Symbolism* (London, 1979).

32. Quoted in Edward Braun, see note 15, p. 40.

33. Ibid., p. 46.

34. Quoted in *The Mask*, Vol. 1, 1908, p. 10.

35. See Micheal Meyer, *Henrik Ibsen: Volume 3* (London, 1971), pp. 239-240. Also see A. Lugné-Poe, *Ibsen* (Paris, 1936). Lugné-Poe was greatly influenced by Maeterlinck in his interpretations of Ibsen's plays. Maeterlinck usually wrote preview articles for Lugné-Poe's productions, analysing his views, which Ibsen totally dismissed. Commenting on the production of *Rosmersholm*, Ibsen said that he did not want 'any stupid mysticism' in his plays.

36. *The Mask*, Vol. 6, 1913, p. 91-92.

37. For an account of Lugné-Poe's style see John Stokes, *Resistible Theatres*, note 20, pp. 166-180.

38. *The Mask*, Vol. 10, 1924, p. 47

38. *The Mask*, Vol. 10, 1924, p. 47

39. Harley Granville-Barker is quoted or referred to in *The Mask* in the following issues: Vol. 1, p. 20b, p. 90; Vol. 2, pp. 147-48; Vol. 3, p. 83, p. 95, p. 195; Vol. 5, pp. 189-92, p. 281, p. 289; Vol. 7, p. 184; Vol. 9, p. 38; Vol. 10, p. 66, p. 91; Vol. 15, p. 161; *The Exemplary Theatre*, (rev), Vol. 9, p. 38; *Prefaces to Shakespeare*, (rev), Vol. 15, p. 161; *The Secret Life (rev), Vol. 10, p. 91; ed. The Eighteen-Seventies*, (rev), Vol. 15, p. 125.

40. For an account of Harley Granville-Barker's work see James Woodfield, *English Theatre in Transition 1881-1914*, note 2, pp. 74-93.

41. Ibid., p. 80.

42. *The Mask*, Vol. 1, 1908, p. 20.

43. *The Mask*, Vol. 3, 1911, p. 195

44. G. B. Shaw is quoted or referred to in *The Mask* in the following issues: Vol. 1, p. 20b, p. 84, p. 256; Vol. 2, p. 40, p. 84, p. 172, p. 178, p. 189; Vol. 3, p. 43, p. 83, p. 95, p. 195; Vol. 4, pp. 13-16, pp. 348-349; Vol. 5, pp. 177-78; Vol. 6, p. 369, p. 372; Vol. 12, pp. 21-23, pp. 81-82, pp. 116-117, pp. 163-64; Vol. 13, p. 48, pp. 83-84, pp. 131-32; Vol.14, p. 92; Vol. 15, p. 174.

45. G. B. Shaw, *Collected Letters 1898-1910*, ed. Dan. H. Lawrence (London, 1972), pp. 324-325.

46. See Edward Braun, note 15, pp. 84-86.

47. *The Mask*, Vol. 9, 1923, p. 38.

48. *The Mask*, Vol. 5, 1912, p. 282.

49. Quoted in Hugh Kenner, *The Pound Era* (University of California Press, 1971), p. 104.

50. Quoted in James Woodfield, see note 2. See chapter 'The Censorship Saga', pp. 108-131.

51. Ibid., p. 113.

52. Ibid., p. 126.

53. Censorship is dealt with in *The Mask* in the following issues: Vol. 1, pp. 147-48. p. 40, p. 100; Vol. 2, pp. 49-52, p. 144, p. 183; Vol. 3, pp. 189-90, p. 195; Vol. 4, p. 57, pp. 183-84, p. 262; Vol. 5, p. 272; Vol. 8, pp. 67-68, pp. 122-23, pp. 154-56; Vol. 12, pp. 160-61; Vol. 15, p. 83.

54. *The Mask*, Vol. 2, 1910, p. 145.

55. Quoted in James Woodfield, see note 2, p. 124.

56. *The Mask*, Vol. 10, 1924, p. 180.

57. Ibid., p. 180.

58. *The Mask*, Vol. 9, 1919, p. 23.

59. *The Mask*, Vol. 8, 1915, p. 12.

60. *The Mask*, Vol. 11, 1925, p. 149.

61. For an account of Craig's school see Arnold Rood, 'Edward Gordon Craig, Director, School for the Art of the Theatre', *Theatre Research International*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 1983, pp. 1-17.

62. Ibid., p. 3.

63. Allardyce Nicoll contributes or is referred to in *The Mask* in the following issues: Vol. 10, p. 66; Vol. 11, p. 53, p. 91, pp. 159-60, p. 182; Vol. 13, p. 133; Vol. 15, p. 176; *British Drama* (rev), Vol. 12, p. 40; *The Development of the Theatre* (rev), Vol. 14, p. 137; *A History of Late Eighteenth Century Drama* (rev), Vol. 13, p. 83; *A History of the Reformation Drama 1600-1700* (rev), Vol. 10, p. 135; *An Introduction to Dramatic Theory* (rev), Vol. 11, p. 91.

64. *The Mask*, Vol. 11, 1925, pp. 163.

65. Ibid., p. 165.

66. EGC, *On the Art of the Theatre* 1911, rpt. (New York, 1960), p. 99.

67. See Laurence Senelick, 'Moscow and Monodrama: The Meaning of the Craig/Stanislavsky *Hamlet*', in *Theatre Research International*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 1981, pp. 109-124.

68. See essay by Fyodor Sologub, 'The Theatre of a Single Will', in Laurence Senelick, ed. and trans, *Russian Dramatic Theory from Pushkin to the Symbolists* (Austin, Texas, 1981).

69. Quoted in essay by Nikolay Evreinov, 'Introduction to Monodrama', in Laurence Senelick, Ibid., pp. 183-199.

70. *The Mask*, Vols. 7-8, 1914, pp. 109-115, p. 110.

71. Ibid., p. 115.

72. EGC, *Henry Irving* (London, 1930), p. 87.

CHAPTER V

1. *The Mask*, Vol. 6, 1913, p. 81.

2. Ananda K. Coomeraswamy, one of the authorities of the period on Indian Theatre and arts in general, was a regular correspondent of *The Mask*. His contributions include: 'Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon' (extract), Vol. 6, pp. 270-72; 'Dance of Siva', Vol. 8, p. 31; 'The Mirror of Gesture' (rev), Vol. 8, p. 52; 'Sati: A Vindication of the Hindu Woman' (rev), Vol. 6, pp. 79-80; 'Visvakarama, Examples of Indian Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Handicraft', Vol. 6, p. 272; 'Visvali - One Hundred Examples of Indian Sculpture' (rev), Vol. 7, p. 177. See also notes 18 and 28.

3. V. G. Kiernan, *The Lords of Human Kind: Black Man , Yellow Man, and White Man in an Age of Empire* (Boston, 1969), p. 55.

4. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London, 1978), p. 177.

5. *The Mask*, Vol. 6, 1914, p. 227.

6. Ibid., p. 270.

7. Ibid., p. 111

8. Ibid., p. 217.

9. Ibid., p. 219.

10. Joseph Conrad quoted in *The Mask*, Vol. 14, 1928, p. 76. For a further discussion on the importance of puppets, see chapter VII.

11. For a discussion on the influence of the Romantic tradition in puppets (i. e. Kleist) also see chapter VII.

12. See chapter VIII for the significance of the Wayang puppet Semar in the construction of an editorial mask for Craig.

13. *The Mask*, Vol. 12 *bis*, 1927, p. 33.

14. Ibid., p. 33

15. EGC, 'The Actor and the Ubermarionette', first printed in *The Mask* (1908), Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 3b-15b, quoted in Vol. 6, 1913, p. 120.

16. Coomeraswamy, 'The Human Actor', *The Mask*, Vol. 6, 1913, pp. 120-8, p. 123.

17. Ibid., p. 127-128.

18. Schopenhauer, 'On Women', *The Mask*, Vol. 7, 1914, pp. 1-14.

19. Ibid., p. 7-8.

20. Ellen Terry, quoted in L.C. Pronko, *Theatre East and West* (London, 1967), p. 120.

21. Irving, *Le Théâtre*, (Sept. 1900), quoted in L.C. Pronko, *Theatre East and West*, p. 120.

22. Tao, 'Women in the Theatre', *The Mask*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (1910), p. 96.

23. Ibid., p. 97.

24. EGC, 'Japanese Players', *The Mask*, Vol. 3, 1910, p. 143.

25. EGC, 'The History of Japanese Colour Prints' (rev), *The Mask*, Vol. 4, 1911, p. 64.

26. Coomeraswamy, 'The Sacred Drama of Cambodia', *The Mask*, Vol. 5, 1911, p. 208.

27. John Semar (Craig pseudonym), 'Japanese Artists in the West', *The Mask, Vol. 6, 1913, pp. 89-91, p. 90.*

28. Ibid., p. 91.

29. EGC, Marie Stokes, Plays of Old Japan. The No (rev), *The Mask*, Vol. 6, 1913, p. 265.

30. Arthur Waley, *The No Plays of Japan* (rev), *The Mask*, Vol. 9, 1919, p. 34.

31. EGC, in letter of 1934, Humanities Research Centre, University of Texas at Austin.

32. Ibid.

33. For a further investigation of Craig's creative encounter with Yeats see Karen Dorn, *Players and Painted Stage, The Theatre of W.B. Yeats* (Brighton, 1984), chapter entitled 'Dialogue into Movement: W.B. Yeats's Theatre Collaboration with Gordon Craig', pp. 13-33.

34. W.B. Yeats, *The Hour Glass*, in *The Mask*, Vol. 5, 1910, pp. 327-46.

35. From a letter from Yeats to Craig, 29 July 1913, in the Gordon Craig Collection, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, quoted in Denis Bablet, *Edward Gordon Craig* (Paris, 1962), trans. Daphne Woodward (London, 1966), p. 130.

36. In *The Letters of W.B. Yeats*, ed. Allan Wade (New York, 1955), p. 577, or *The Mask*, Vol. 5, 12-13, p. 291. This volume includes two articles by Jack B. Yeats on producing plays for miniature stages, which Craig revives as part of his crusade to revive the miniature stage. See chapter VII.

37. Ernest Fenollosa and Ezra Pound, *'Noh' or Accomplishment, A Study of the Classical Stage in Japan* (London, 1916), p. 17.

38. Yeats appears as a regular contibutor to *The Mask:* he is referred to in the following issues: Vol. 2, p. 148; Vol. 4, p. 61. p. 161; Vol. 5, p. 2; Vol. 7, p. 139, p. 174; Vol. 9, p. 50; Vol. 10, p. 66; His contributions appear in the following issues: *The Hour Glass* (play and preface printed), Vol. 5, pp. 327-46; 'The Tragic Theatre' (article), Vol. 3, p. 77; The following are reviewed: *Per Amica Silentia Lunae*, Vol. 8, p. 39; *Plays and Controversies*, Vol. 10, p. 90; *Plays for an Irish Theatre*, Vol. 9, pp. 342-43.

39. In *The Letters of W.B. Yeats*, ed. Allan Wade (New York, 1955), p. 577.

40. See *The Mask*, Frederich Perzynski, *Japanesche Masken: No und Kyogen (rev), Vol. 12, pp. 162-63;* Isawaki and Hughes, *Three Modern Japanese Plays* (rev), Vol. 10, p. 91; Asataro Miyamori, *Masterpieces of Chikamatsu, the Japanese Shakespeare*, Vol. 8, p. 33

41. W.B. Yeats, introduction to *Certain Noble Plays of Japan*, in *Essays and Introductions* (London, 1961), p. 224. Also see Liam Miller, *The Noble Drama of W.B. Yeats* (Dublin, 1977), pp. 223-225, where the influence of Michio Ito is analysed. 'Mitchio Ito (1893-1961) came from a wealthy Japanese family and after a period spent in the study of the traditional dance forms of his native country at the Mizuki Dancing School, where he graduated in 1911, he travelled to Europe to study European forms of dance and spent the following three years in Paris at the Dalcroze School. From Paris he went to London where he became a protégé of Ezra Pound's, and assisted Pound with his work of deciphering and editing the Fenollosa papers. Ito's study of Japanese dance forms was not related to the forms used in the Noh theatre, but he became interested in Noh forms when he came into contact with Pound in 1915, and in October of that year gave some performances of Noh dancing for Pound and a group of friends in a costume specially reconstructed by Dulac and Charles Ricketts', p. 224..

42. EGC, Marcelle Azra Hinche, *The Japanese Dance* (rev), *The Mask*, Vol. 3, 1910, pp. 90-1.

43. Boris Alpers, *The Theatre of the Social Mask*, trans. Mark Schmidt (New York: Group Theatre, 1934), pp. 36-37.

44. Meyerhold's articles on Craig appeared in *Zhurnal Literaturno - khudozhestvennogo obshchestva*, No. 9 (Petersburg, 1909-10), also see Meyerhold's *O Teatre*, (Petersburg, 1913), pp. 90-93. Also see Edward Braun ed., *Meyerhold on Theatre* (London, 1969), p. 112, note 1.

45. Meyerhold, *Stat'i, pis'ma, rechi, besedy*, Vol. 2 (Moscow, 1917-39), p. 322, quoted in Katherine Bliss Eaton, *The Theatre of Meyerhold and Brecht* (London, 1986), p. 23.

46. A.C. Scott, *Mei Lan-fang: Leader of the Pear Garden* (Hong Kong, 1959), pp. 117-18.

47. C.G. Smith (Craig pseudonym), 'Only - A Note by C.G. Smith', *The Mask*, Vol. 12 bis, 1927, p. 73.

48. Ibid., p. 74.

49. Ibid., p. 74.

50. EGC, 'New book and Old Memories', (rev. of Réné Fulop-Miller's and Paul Gregor's, *The Russian Theatre with Special Reference to the Revolution)*, *The Boston Transcript*, Nos. 4-6 (Boston, 1930).

51. Jan Klaassen (Craig pseudonym - a Netherlands folk puppet character), 'Imitation - A Note by Jan Klaassen', *The Mask*, Vol. 11, 1925, p. 40.

52. John Semar (Craig pseudonym), in column entitled 'Foreign Notes', *The Mask*, Vol. 3, 1910-11, p. 189.

53. From unsigned article probably by EGC, 'Puppets in Japan', *The Mask*, Vol. 6, 1914, p. 217.

CHAPTER VI

1. See chapter II for a further discussion of Craig's scepticism about 'the shock of the new' in modern movements like Cubism and Futurism.

2. *The Mask*, Vol. 5, 1912, pp. 104-8, p. 104.

3. *The Mask*, Vol. 3, 1910, p50.

4. *The Mask*, Vol. 3, 1911, p. 147. Dorothy Nevile Lees was Craig's chief collaborator on the whole of *The Mask* project, sharing many of Craig's pseudonyms (including that of the editor John Semar - Pierre Rames backwards). For more information on Dorothy Nevile Lee's role in *The Mask* and why this remained invisible see Lorelei Guidry, *The Mask: Introduction and Index* (New York, 1968).

Using her own name Dorothy Nevile Lees appears in *The Mask* in the following issues: Vol. 1, p. 85, p. 103, p. 106, p. 200, p. 226; Vol. 2, p. 28, p. 52, pp. 95-96, p. 134, p. 174; Vol. 4, p. 137, p. 219, p. 322; Vol. 5, p. 72, p. 290; Vol. 6, p. 188, p. 286; Vol. 10, p. 42, p. 187; Vol. 11, p. 55; Vol. 12, p. 3, p. 78; Vol. 14, p. 162; Vol. 15, p. 13, pp. 27-30, p. 48, p. 121, p. 137.

5. See Frontispiece: *A Grotesque Arlecchino's Mask*, *The Mask*, Vol. 3, Nos. 7- 9, 1910.

6. *The Mask*, Vol. 4, 1912, p. 200.

7. *The Mask*, Vol. 4, 1911, pp. 113-5. From Andrea Perrucci, Dell'arte rappresentativa, premeditata e all'improvviso (Naples, 1699), trans. by Dorothy Nevile Lees.

8. Ibid.

9. The study Craig uses as a source book is Luigi Riccoboni, *Histoire du Théâtre Italien*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1730-31). Ending an article entitled 'Experiment in Literary Drama', written by Pierre Rames (Lees's Commedia pseudonym) the readership is presented with a comprehensive bibliography of Riccoboni's works:

L'Histoire du Théâtre Italien, illus. by Joullain (Paris, 1730-31).

Nuovo Teatro Italiano (Paris, 1733).

Observations sur la Comédie et sur la Génie de Molière (Paris, 1736).

Réflexions Historiques et Critiques sur les différents Théâtres de l'Europe, avec les Pensees sur la Declamation (Paris, 1738).

Dell'arte rappresentativa (London, 1728).

Reformation du Théâtre (Paris, 1767).

10. *The Mask*, Vol. 3, 1911, p. 164, from Evaristo Gherardi, *Le Théâtre Italien*, 8 vols. (London, 1714).

11. *The Mask*, Vol. 3, 1911, p. 187, from Luigi Rasi, *I Comici Italiani. Biografia, Bibliografia, Iconografia*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1897-1905). Professor Rasi contributes to *The Mask* in the following issues: Vol. 3, p. 181; Vol. 4, p. 340; Vol. 5, p. 146; Vol. 14, p. 132.

12. Michele Scherillo, *La Commedia dell'Arte in Italia* (Torino, 1884). Dr. Scherillo appears in the following issues of *The Mask*: Vol. 3, p. 22, p. 108, p. 149; Vol. 6, p. 146; Vol. 7, p. 33. Of these contributions perhaps the most extensive is a ten-page article entitled 'The Genealogy of Pulcinella' written for Vol. 3 of *The Mask*.

13. Cesare Levi, *Rivista Teatrale Italiana*, 1912. Dr. Levi appears in *The Mask* in the following issues: Vol. 5, p. 20; Vol. 11, p. 71, p. 151; His most valuable contribution was as translator of the (unpublished in English) Commedia scenario *The Roguish Tricks of Coviello (Gli Intrighi di Coviello per la Moglie)* in Vol. 6, pp. 353-56
Dr. Levi's collection of scenarios in *Rivista Teatrale Italiana*, based on the manuscripts in the National Library of Naples, proved very useful for Craig. Dorothy Nevile Lees translates another scenario from that collection entitled *The Betrayed (Il Tradito)* in Vol. 7, pp. 53-57 of *The Mask*. The collection complied by Dr. Levi was published in three instalments: in 1911, 1912 and 1914. Altogether it comprises an overwhelming 15 volumes. The appearence of the scenarios in the pages of *The Mask* in Volumes 6 and 7 (1913 and 1914) is almost simultaneous

with their Italian publication. An English translation of these has not as yet been published. Two more Commedia scenarios feature in *The Mask*. These are *The Three Princes of Salerno (Li Tre Principi di Salerno)* in Vol. 4, pp. 335-39, and *The Four Lunatics (I Quattro Pazzi)* in Vol. 4, pp. 116-21. These are translated from Adolfo Bartoli's *Scenari inediti della commedia dell'arte* (Florence, 1880). Craig was familiar with the collection as he refers to it elsewhere in *The Mask* (while compiling a list of Commedia characters he writes 'I can find no such list either in Bartoli - *Scenari inediti della commedia dell'arte* - or elsewhere'. See last note 43.) All four scenarios can be found in Volume 5 of Vito Pandolfi's *La Commedia dell'Arte, Storia e Testo* (Florence, 1959). They do not appear in Henry F. Salerno, trans. *Scenarios of the Commedia dell'Arte: Flaminio Scala's Il teatro delle favole rappresentative* (New York, 1967), which is the only comprehensive collection translated in English to date. See Appendix A.

14. *Scenari Inediti della Commedia dell'arte*. See note 13.

15. Umberto Fracchia was the editor of a journal called *Comoedia* published in Milan in the same period as *The Mask*. His article 'English Actors and Italian Actors' appears in Vol. 11, p. 161 of *The Mask*. Apart from editing a magazine and contributing to *The Mask* Umberto Fracchia was an accomplished novelist. His *La Stella del Nord* was published in 1930 and the study *Vincenzo Monti* in 1927 in Milan. *Robino and Other Stories*, translated by Sir. H. Scott, was published in London in 1932. Under the title 'Book Notes in *The Mask*, Vol. 11, No. 1, 1925, p. 49. Craig writes on the collaboration of *The Mask* and *Comoedia*: 'Here in Italy much Theatre literature is continually published. An interesting article on the work of Gordon Craig by Henry Furst appeared in *Il Piccolo* lately. Another appeared on the same subject in *Comoedia* for November 10th, which is issued in Milano. The article was written by A. Nasalli Rocca, who contributed an article on the old Theatres of Piacenza to the October number of *The Mask*. *Comoedia* often contains interesting items. It is published by Mondadori (Galleria Vittorio Emanuele 74), Milano, and edited by Umberto Fracchia, a young writer of talent and experience'.

16. *The Mask*, Vol. 14, 1928, p. 40. See appendix on reviews of Commedia literature.

17. *The Mask*, Vol. 6, 1913, p. 135.

18. Ibid., p. 147.

19. Craig expresses his interest in Shakespeare mainly in the form of a homage to his designer/architect father E. W. Godwin. From *The Architect* he reprints most of Godwin's designs for costumes and settings of Shakespeare plays; *All's Well That Ends Well*, Vol. 3, p. 19; *Antony and Cleopatra*, Vol. 2, pp. 127-30; *As You Like it*, Vol. 3, p. 18; *Coriolanus*, Vol. 1, pp. 112-15; Greek Plays, Shakespeare, Vol. 1, pp. 134-39, pp. 156-58, pp. 192-94, pp. 216-18; *Julius Caesar*, Vol. 2, pp. 77-80; *King Henry VIII*, Vol. 3, p. 73; *Love's Labour's Lost*, Vol. 3, pp. 20-21; *The Merchant of Venice*, Vol. 1, pp. 75-80, pp. 91-94; A *Midsummer*

Dream, pp. 134-39, pp. 156-58, pp. 192-94, pp. 216-18; *Othello*, Vol. 2, pp. 165-68; *Pericles*, see Greek plays. *Richard III*, Vol. 4, 191-96; *The Taming of the Shrew*, Vol. 5, pp. 199-203; The *Tempest*, Vol. 5, p. 204; *Timon of Athens*, pp. 134-39, pp. 56-58, pp. 192-94, pp. 216-18; *Troilus and Cressida*, pp. 134-39, pp. 156-58, pp. 192-94, pp. 216-18; *Twelfth Night*, Vol. 4, pp. 286-18; *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Vol. 2, pp. 168-70; The Winter's Tale, pp. 134-39, pp. 156-58, pp. 192-94, pp. 216-18.

20. See note 17, p. 147.

21. *The Mask* Vol. 6, 1913, pp. 147-156. A list of Commedia actors/playwrights follows with detailed biographical notes.

22. *The Mask*, Vol. 3, 1911, p. 99a .

23. *The Mask*, Vol. 3, 1910, p. 100.

24. Molière is referred to in *The Mask* in the following issues: Vol. 8, p. 7; Vol. 10, p. 26, p. 66; Vol. 11, pp. 71-79; Vol. 13, p. 48; Vol. 15, p. 8, pp. 35-36; Augusta, Lady Gregory, translation, Vol. 3, p. 132; *Le Mariage Forcé*, Vol. 6, pp. 277-78; plays, Vol. 13, p. 35; as playwright, Vol. 12, p. 123; studies in, Vol. 11, p. 70; theatre ground plan, Vol. 8, p. 7.

25. Cesare Levi, 'How Doctors Were Satirized in the Ancient Theatre' in *The Mask*, Vol. 11, 1925, pp. 71-79. This essay, which traces the Commedia influences in Molière, is reprinted from Cesare Levy's *Studii Molieriani*, ed. Sandron, Palerno.

26. *The Mask*, Vol. 9, 1923, pp. 12-14. The title of this leaflet by Barbieri (1576-1641) in Craig's possession reads *La Schiava Comedia Nuova e Ridicolosa Nuovamente Posta in Luce, ad Instantia D'Ogni Spiriti Gentile. Colophon in Pavia, per Pietro Bartoli. 1602 con Licenza de'Superiori.*
He introduces it saying: 'I give you here for your eyes to see and for your common sense to reason about, a page from an Italian book of about 8 pages in my possession. You will find a translation in the side of the column'. This is followed by a list of head actors. Scarpetta, the last name on the list was still working at his theatre in Naples while Craig lived in Italy. His theatre attracted artists as diverse as Stravinsky, Picasso, Massine and Diaghilev. Craig and Dorothy Nevile Lees would visit Scarpetta's theatre in Naples and write articles about it in *The Mask*. See note 41.

27. The extract from Evaristo Gherardi reads: 'To be a good Italian actor means to be a man who possesses a rich store of knowledge, who plays more from fancy than from memory, who invents all he says, who seconds his colleague on the stage, that is matches his actions and words so well with those of his comrade, that he enters at once on all the movements to which the other invites him, and in such a way as to make everybody believe that all has been settled beforehand'. The extract is from *Le Théâtre Italien* (1714), and is reprinted in *The Mask*, Vol. 9, 1923, pp. 12-4.

The extract from Riccoboni reads: 'To an actor who depends on improvisation, it is not sufficient to have face, memory, voice, even sentiment, if he is to *distinguish himself*, he must possess a lively and fertile imagination, a great facility of expression, he must master all the subtleties of language, possess all the knowledge which is required for the different situations in which his part places him'. This extract is reprinted from *L'Histoire du Théâtre Italien* (1728) in the above issue of *The Mask*.

28. *The Mask*, Vol. 3, 1911, p. 101.

29. Ibid., p. 100

30. *An Actor's Petition*, rpt. in *The Mask*, Vol. 14, 1928, pp. 132-33. The petition is in Dorothy Nevile Lees's translation.

31. Ibid., p. 133.

32. Luigi Riccoboni, *Advice to Actors*, rpt. in *The Mask*, Vol. 3, 1911, p. 175.

33. For bibliography on Luigi Riccoboni see note 9.

34. See note 21.

35. *The Mask*, Vol. 5, 1910, p. 100.

36. Robert F. Storey, *Pierrot. A Critical History of a Mask*, (Princeton, 1978), p. 94. For Commedia influences on Romanticism and Symbolism see chapter entitled 'Romantic Adolescence', pp. 93-138.

37. *The Mask*, Vol. 7, 1914, p. 74.

38. See chapter VII on puppets, where this is further developed.

39. *Commedia-ism*, like *Orientalism*, can be defined as that process of appropriation that relies on constant 'othering', rather than historical-political-geographical reality.

40. *The Mask*, Vol. 11, 1925, p. 52.

41. *The Mask*, Vol. 6, 1914, p. 357.

42. The following quotation from *The Marionette* acts as a perfect example of the transparency of Craig's disguise:

And if I may express a second wish, it is that you do not start your letter with 'Dear Horace... I know you are Gordon Craig in another mask ... and so I will begin by saying 'Look here, Craig, my first quarrel is with you... why the deuce, etc. etc.' Don't, I beg, begin in that gracious tone. For even if I am not Gordon Craig, I have been working a good deal longer at this craft than you, and to be a whipper-snapper (if only in manner) does not become you any the better

just because you hail from America. *The Marionette*, Vol. 1, (Florence, 1918).

43. Craig's extensive study of Commedia masks, *The Characters of the Commedia dell'Arte* appears in *The Mask*, Vol. 4, 1912, p. 199-201. (See Appendix C). This study is cited in Laura Falavolti, *Commedie dei Comici dell'Arte (Torino, 1982), and in Giacomo Oreglia The Commedia dell'Arte* (London, 1968). In general, studies on the Commedia dell'Arte published since the publication of *The Mask* mainly refer to this article and not to the rest of the Commedia material in *The Mask.*

CHAPTER VII

1. Quoted in *The Mask*, Vol. 14, 1928, p. 76. From a letter Joseph Conrad sent to R. B. Cunninghame Graham, 6 December 1897, in Jean Aubry, *Joseph Conrad: Life and Letters*, p. 213. See chapter V, note 10.

2. Walter Pater, 'Another Estimate of the Actor's Character', in *The Mask*, Vol. 3, 1911, p. 174.

3. For Plato's attack on mimesis see his dialogue *Ion* where the process of enacting by imitation is seen as potentially corrupting for both the actor or the rhapsode and his audience. See D. A. Russell and M. Winterbottom, eds., *Classical Literary Criticism, Ion*, (Oxford, 1972), pp. 1-13. In the *Republic* he further elaborates: he writes that the imitative artist 'rouses and feeds this part of the mind [the non-rational] and by strengthening it destroys the rational part'. See *Classical Literary Criticism, Republic*, p. 47.

4. Rupert Hart-Davis, ed., *The Letters of Oscar Wilde* (London, 1962), p. 311, from a letter to the editor of *The Daily Telegraph*, 19 February 1892.

5. Ibid., *The Letters of Oscar Wilde.*

6. Arthur Symons, 'Apology for Puppets', *The Mask*, Vol. 5, 1912, p. 103. Arthur Symons, a regular contributor to *The Mask*, especially with material relating to marionettes, also appears in Vol. 4, 1912, p. 188 with the article 'Pantomime and the Poetic Drama', taken from his *Studies in Seven Arts.* In Vol. 3, p. 173, 1911, *The Mask* reprints an essay entitled 'On Actors and Actresses', from a translation of Gozzi's memoirs by Arthur Symons.

7. Anatole France, 'The Marionettes of M. Signoret', *The Mask*, Vol. 5, 1912, pp. 98-103, p. 99.

8. EGC, *The Mask*, Vol. 5, 1912, p. 95. In the same issue Craig announces the founding of the 'Society of the Marionette', 'We intend to form a Society of the Marionette. Mr Gordon Craig has consented to act as president of the Society', p. 144.

9. P.C. Ferrigni (Yorick), 'History of Puppets', *The Mask*, Vol.5, p.95, p.111, p.248, p.303; Vol.6, p.129, p.297; Vol.7, p.17, p.26, p.116; Vol.9, p.301.

10. P.C. Ferrigni (Yorick), *Le Storia dei Burattini* (Florence, 1902), based on Magnin, *Histoire des marionettes en Europe* (Paris, 1852). Charles Magnin (1793-1862), French historian, drama critic and also author of *Les origines du théâtre en Europe* (Paris, 1838), translated into French the plays of Saxon nun Hrostwitha (c.930-1000) some of which were performed at M.Signoret's 'Petit Théâtre' and seen by Anatole France. See note no.7.

11. P.C. Ferrigni (Yorick),'Ancient Puppets in the Temple', *The Mask*, Vol.5, 1912, pp.111-114, p.111.

12. EGC, *The Mask*. Vol.6, 1914, pp.283-5, p.283.

13. This history he probably got from the 'Dutch couple' who helped with *The Mask* and were researching Javanese shadow theatre at the time. We do not have more information about them. They are mentioned in Edward Craig, *Gordon Craig*, and in Lorelei Guidry *Index and Introduction to The Mask*, p.9. A history of the Wayang puppet theatre appears in *The Marionette* (Florence, 1918).

14. Craig's collection forms part of the greater one at the Kunstgewerbemuseum at Zurich. It has proved vital for the work of other scholars and theatre practitioners working with puppets. Lottie Reininger, for example, refers to it and uses it to illustrate her book *Shadow Theatres and Shadow Films* (London, 1970). Reininger, almost a contemporary of Craig's, was one of the main advocates of shadow puppets in Europe.

15. EGC, *The Mask*, Vol.7, 1914, pp.104-7. Craig adds a note to this article where he warns his contemporaries that, although he is willing to share his knowledge of puppets, he will not accept mimicry and 'theft':

Experts Browne, Smythe and de Jones, who are bad at finding out anything but what Appia, Bakst, Fortuny, Brazicolli or I have discovered, will not be in the game or share any of the fun (except by stealth) because they have not observed the 'rules' of the game.
I have to mention this, for it is these experts who so often write to the press or chatter at tea-tables in a wrythe (sic) or fury, that we are forgetting them, are not acknowledging that their art of theft is the art of creation, and are therefore setting it down as valueless to the theatre. p.106.

16. Ibid., p.107.

17. Here the term is used as it is defined by Mikhail Bakhtin and Julia Kristeva. Intertextuality places a work in history, in relation

to its medium and understands its very existence as forming and formed by that relationship.

18. EGC, *The Mask*, Vol. 5, 1912-13, p. 1.

19. The Toy Theatre, founded by Benjamin Pollock (1856-1937), was located in Hoxton Street, London.

20. *The Mask* also quotes from Robert Louis Stevenson on toy-theatres. In an article entitled 'Robert Louis Stevenson and the Drama of Skelt', which includes information taken from his *Memoirs and Politics*, Dorothy Nevile Lees presents Stevenson's views on toy-theatres, Vol. 5, 1912), pp. 72-76.

21. EGC, *The Mask*, Vol. 5, 1912, p. 45.

22. Edward Edwardovitch was to be the principal reporter of the Craig-Stanislavsky working relationship on the Moscow production of *Hamlet*.

23. Some examples from this list in *The Mask*, Vol. 5, 1912, p. 57, follow:

	Plain		Coloured	
	s	d	s	d
Aladdin or The Wonderful Lamp	1	3	2	4
Blue Jackets	0	6	0	10
Brigand	0	10	1	6
Charles the Second	0	6	0	10
Children in the Wood	0	10	1	6
Cinderella	0	11	1	8

24. EGC, *The Mask*, Vol. 5, 1912, pp. 221-22.

35. Clunn Lewis and his work appear in George Speaight, *The History of the English Puppet Theatre* (London, 1955). Chesterton quoted from 'In Praise of Puppets' from an unidentified magazine in *The World's Fair*, August 31, 1940.

26. *The Mask*, in 'Foreign Notes', Vol. 5, 1912, p. 381.

27. Ibid., pp. 234-6, p. 234.

28. Ibid., p. 347.

29. *The Page* (London, 1899), was in the finest of Arts and Crafts traditions. Its contents reveal its particular background:

'*The Page* is a publication in which one finds original Poems, Music, Prose, Woodcuts, Posters, Portraits, Bookplates, and other curious things.'

The contents for the Xmas edition of 1900 include:

January	EGC
King Henry	EGC
Robert Burns	J. W. Simpson
A Design for a Poster	EGC
'I Had No Thoughts of a Blue Gauze Veil'	Oliver Bath

30. *The Marionette*, Vol. 1, April (Florence, 1918), p. 1

31. EGC, 'History of Puppets', in *The Marionette*, pp. 20-23, 54-57, 152-54, 171-75.

32. *The Marionette*, p. 21.

33. Corrado Ricci, 'The Burattini of Bologna', in *The Marionette*, No. 5 (Florence, 1918), pp. 131-163, taken from *I Teatri di Bologna* (Bologna, 1888).

34. From the above source book Craig mentions *I Bibiena... Architetti Teatrali 1625-1780* (Milano, 1915).

35. These essays were to play an important role in later scholarly studies. They would be published in English by the American puppeteer and director of the University Of Washington Puppeteers R. Bruce Inverarity in his *Manual of Puppetry* (Binfords Mort, 1936). The essay by Munsterberg (whose name Craig spells Mansterberg) appears in this volume. Father Mariantonio (1695-1737) whose surname, Lupi, is omitted, is a very important figure in the history of puppetry. He was an Italian Jesuit priest whose studies of puppets in classical Greek and Roman literature is probably one of the first attempts to chart a history of puppets. In his *Sopra i burattini degli antichi*, in Vol. 2 of *Dissertazioni lettere ed altre operette* (Zaccaria, c. 1720), he cites Herodotus, Xenophon, Aristotle, Apuleius, Horace, Petronius Arbiter, Aulus Gellus. This work provided the chapter in Magnin, *Histoire des marionettes en Europe* (1852), which in turn provided the model for Yorick's 'History of Puppets'. In English the first translation appears in *The Marionette* (June, 1918) and the second in *Manual of Puppetry*.

36. EGC, *The Marionette*, No. 5, (June, 1918), p. 152.

37. EGC (Tom Fool), *The Men of Gotham*, p. 1; *Mr. Fish and Mrs. Bones*, p. 12; *The Tune the Old Cow Died of*, p. 48; *The Gordian Knot*, p. 82 in *The Marionette*, (Florence, 1918).

38. EGC, *The Blue Sky*, (1920), Humanities Research Centre, University of Texas at Austin.

39. EGC, *The Marionette*, No. 1 (Florence, 1918), p. 9.

40. Heinrich von Kleist, *Uber Das Marionettentheater*, *Berliner Abendlatter* (c. 1810). Craig presents his readers with the first English translation of Kleist's essay by Amedeo Foresti in *The Marionette*, No. 4 (Florence, 1918). Subsequent English translations of this essay appear in McCollester, *Theatre Arts* (New York, 1928);

Jelas, *Vertical* (New York, 1941); Beryl de Zoete, *Ballet* (London, 1946) rpt. in *Puppet Master* (B.P.M.T.G. Oct., 1946). Kleist's essay has featured in numerous German publications since its first appearance in serial form in the Berlin newspaper. For the impact of the essay in its German context, and on the work of Kleist in general see, Walter Silz, *Heinrich von Kleist: Studies in his Works and Literary Character* (Connecticut, 1961).

41. EGC, 'The Actor and the *Ubermarionette*', *The Mask*, Vol. 1, 1908. The essay was incorporated in Craig's book, *On the Art of the Theatre* (London, 1911).

42. See Christopher Innes, *Edward Gordon Craig (Cambridge, 1983), p. 110-111*

43. EGC, The Mask, Vol. 1, 1908, p. 3.

44. See Kleist, note 40.

45. Most of Craig's instructive/propagandistic essays are in dialogue form, between an actor-manager/actor and the 'Artist of the Theatre'. See his dialogues, *The Art of the Theatre* (1905), 'Proposals Old and New' (1910), 'The Perishable Theatre' (1921). This form of teaching, essentially Platonic and using inductive guidance, should not be considered as exhibiting any notion of dialectic narrative. The strategy of argument (*μαιευτικη*) imposes a very authoritative narrative voice.

46. See Kleist, note 40.

47. EGC, 'The Actor and the *Ubermarionette*' in *The Mask*, Vol. 1, p. 8b.

48. See Kleist, note 40.

49. Ibid.

50. EGC, 'The Actor and the *Ubermarionette*', in *The Mask*, Vol. 1, p. 15b.

51. Meyerhold acknowledges his theoretical debt to Craig. He was the first to translate Craig's work into Russian. For Meyerhold's views on Craig see, Edward Braun ed., *Meyerhold on Theatre* (London, 1969), p. 61, p. 93, p. 112, p. 154, p. 172, p. 176.

52. See *Meyerhold on Theatre*, note 51, p. 53.

53. Oskar Schlemmer, 'Man and Art Figure', in Walter Gropius, ed., *The Theatre of the Bauhaus*, trans. Arthur S. Wesinger (Connecticut, 1961), pp. 17-48.

54. See *Meyerhold on Theatre*, p. 128.

55. EGC, 'Futuristic Marionettes', *The Marionette*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (Florence, 1918).

56. EGC, *The Marionette*, Vol. 1, No. 6 (Florence, 1918), p. 170.

CHAPTER VIII

1. For a comprehensive analysis of the relationship between Modernism and fascism see, Cairns Craig, *Yeats, Eliot Pound and the Politics of Poetry* (London, 1982).

2. Quoted in Lorelei Guidry, *The Mask: Introduction and Index* (New York, 1968), p. 8.

3. Ibid,.

4. See *The Mask: Introduction and Index*, pp. 10-12.

5. See Edward Craig, *Gordon Craig* (London, 1968), p. 242.

6. See *The Mask: Introduction and Index*, p. 8-9.

7. *The Mask*, Vol. 10, No. 1, editorial notes, 1924.

8. These notebooks are part of the Craig Collection at the National Library, Paris. The notebook on the use of pseudonyms is Notebook No. 30.

9. See *The Mask: Introduction and Index*, p. 10.

10. See Allen Carric in *The Mask*: Vol. 1, p. 55, p. 140, p. 219, p. 226; Vol. 2, p. 52, p. 88, p. 95, p. 133, p. 161, p. 172; Vol. 3, p. 57, p. 181; Vol. 4, p. 19, pp. 132-34, p. 182, pp. 185-86, p. 197; Vol. 5. p. 2, p. 42, p. 196, p. 299, p. 367; Vol. 6, p. 225, p. 250; Vol. 7, p. 130, p. 167; Vol. 9, p. 20, p. 26; Vol. 10, p. 42; Vol. 11, p. 96; Vol. 12, p. 28, p. 139; Vol. 13, p. 9, p. 147; Vol. 14, p. 10, p. 57, p. 134.

11. Yeats, 'The Mask' (1910), rpt. in *Collected Poems* (London, 1978), p. 106.

12. Wilde, 'The Truth of Masks' (1891), rpt. in *Intentions and The Soul of Man Under Socialism* (London, 1969), pp. 269-70.

13. Oscar Wilde, 'The Critic as Artist', in *Intentions and the Soul of Man Under Socialism*, p. 162.

14. Ibid., p. 191.

15. Maud Ellmann, *The Poetics of Impersonality* (Brighton, 1987), p. 198.

16. Konstantin Rudnitsy, *Russian and Soviet Theatre: Tradition and the Avant-Garde*, trans. Roxane Permar (London, 1988), p. 14

17. Ibid.,

18. Quoted in Lawrence Senelick, *Russian Dramatic Theory from Pushkin to the Symbolists*, (Austin, 1981), p. 136.

19. Ibid.,

20. See Lee Simonson, *The Stage is Set* (London, 1932), pp. 345-50, where amongst other things Simonson attacks Craig for his thin disguises.

21. The Marionette, Vol. 1, No. 9 (Florence, 1918).

22. *The Marionette*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (Florence, 1918).

23. *The Marionette*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Florence, 1918), p. 21.

24. Dorothy Neville Lees shared the most important pseudonyms with Craig, including that of the editor Semar and John Balance. One of her more exotic pseudonyms was Pierre Rames (Semar spelled backwards).

25. See Gordon Craig, *Edward Craig*, p. 301.

26. *The Mask*, Vol. 7, 1914, p. 3.

27. Craig-Duncan Collection, The Dance Collection, The Library for the Performing Arts at Lincoln Centre, New York, p. 272.

28. EGC, *Index to the Story of My Days* (London, 1957), p. 162.

29. See *Your Isadora: The Love Story of Isadora Duncan and Gordon Craig*, ed. Francis Steegmuller (New York, 1974), p. 12.

30. See Isadora Duncan, *My Life* (New York, 1927), pp. 208-209.

THE FOUR LUNATICS. A Scenario of the Commedia dell'Arte.

CHARACTERS.

The Prince of Netturno.
Aurelio, his confidential servant.
Stoppino, Aurelio's servant.
Pandolfo, Counsellor.
Ardelia, his daughter.
Ulivetta, her servant.
Ubaldo, second Counsellor.
Lucinda, believed to be his daughter, afterwards a Princess.
Rosetta, her servant.
Captain of the Court.
Cola, his servant.
Giangurgolo, of the Court.
Pages, footmen as required.
A Magician at the end.

ACT. 1. SCENE 1.

Ardelia and Ulivetta.

Ardelia from the house, pretending it is dawn, complains about the tardy arrival of Aurelio who has been sent by the Prince to the oracle of Cuma; nor does she know how to defend herself from the Prince who says that he wants to marry her that day. Ulivetta complains of Stoppino; they say that they want to speak with Ubaldo; In this,

SCENE 2.

Lucinda, the aforesaid and afterwards Ubaldo.

Lucinda comes to the door with a pistol in her hand; says " I was just thinking of you ", and pulls the trigger; it does not go off; Ardelia screams, Ulivetta faints. In this Ubaldo enters; learns that Lucinda wanted to kill Ardelia so that the marriage with the Prince should not take place. Ubaldo promises to help both. They go in; he remains, and in this,

SCENE 3.

The Prince, Pandolfo, Captain, Cola and Court.

The Prince says that he wishes to await Aurelio with the Oracle's reply and that he has made up his mind to marry. All approve. He says to Pandolfo that he wants his daughter as wife; then calls, and in this

SCENE 4.

Ardelia, the aforesaid and Ulivetta.

She (Ardelia) learns the will of the Prince; replies sadly and refuses

him. He tells her to think it over and all go into the Court.

SCENE 5.

Aurelio and Stoppino.

Aurelio says that he has returned from the Oracle of Cuma; they speak about their love affairs. Stoppino, wishing to try the constancy of the women, makes Aurelio draw back; makes a sign, and in this

SCENE 6.

Ardelia, Ulivetta and the aforesaid.

The women see Stoppino; act the scene of the ghosts,... that is, they believe that it is his ghost. In the end he shows that he is not a ghost but Stoppino; they act a love scene; the women go into the house, they (Aurelio and Stoppino) into the Palace.

SCENE 7.

Captain and Cola.

The Captain discourses upon the cruelty of Lucinda, Cola on that of Ulivetta. The Captain says that he has understood that the Prince wants to marry Lucinda. In this

SCENE 3.

Rosetta, Lucinda and the aforesaid.

She (Lucinda) is entreated by the Captain; she rejects him and goes in with Rosetta; the Captain goes off. Cola remains.

SCENE 9.

Giangurgolo, Cola, Stoppino aside.

Giangurgolo discourses on his love for Lucinda and the rivalry of the Captain. Stoppino arranges to get the Captain into disgrace with the Prince so that he may not give him Lucinda, and in this

SCENE 10.

Stoppino and aforesaid.

Stoppino hears how they have arranged to disguise themselves pretending to come from Orb.....o and sent by the Authorities to imprison the Captain for theft; they go out. Stoppino says he will remedy all when the time comes and

SCENE 11.

Prince, Pandolfo, Captain, Court, Giangurgolo and Cola.

The Prince promises Lucinda to the Captain and says that Pandolfo

must persuade his daughter. He goes into the house. The Prince says that Aurelio does not give him the answer of the Oracle. In this

SCENE 12.

Giangurgolo, Cola, disguised, Stoppino: the aforesaid and Constables.

They (Giangurgolo and Cola) come disguised as constables to find the Captain so that he may be punished as a thief; they describe many thefts; the Prince looks at the Captain; he is astonished. In this Stoppino says, "By your Excellency's leave", pulls off the beards and reveals the trick. The Prince orders them to be imprisoned. The police are called. The Prince with the Court goes off; the police came and want to arrest them. They defend themselves.

END OF ACT 1.

ACT 2. SCENE 1.

Prince, Captain, Court, and Ubaldo.

The Prince is very angry with the two prisoners. In this Ubaldo says that the prisoners entreat to be heard before being condemned; the Prince orders them to come in; in this

SCENE 2.

The Prisoners and the aforesaid.

Giangurgolo falls on his knees saying that love has led him to act so. Cola says that if the Prince will pardon them both he will disclose important matters relating to his own love affairs. The Prince promises and makes all withdraw. Cola reveals to him the love affair of Ardelia with Aurelio and says that if he wants Ardelia he must make her believe that Aurelio is faithless, causing Aurelio by his order to escort Lucinda to the Court fete. The Prince gives permission; they go into the Court; he calls; in this

SCENE 3.

Prince, Pandolfo, and later Ardelia.

The Prince asks what Ardelia decides, he (Pandolfo) timidly says that she does not want him. The Prince has her called; asks her in marriage; she refuses; he says he knows that she is in love with Aurelio whom she cannot have, he being already married to Lucinda whom that same evening he is to conduct to the government house fete; Ardelia

swears that if that be true she will be his excellency's wife. She goes out, in this

SCENE 4.

Aurelio, Stoppino and the aforesaid.

The Prince orders all to withdraw and tells Aurelio that in the evening at the second hour of the night he is to conduct Lucinda to the Court. He gives him his seal as a token and goes off; Aurelio is jubilant believing that the Prince must have changed his love. Knocks at Lucinda's house. It is supposed to be night.

SCENE 5.

Aurelio, Stoppino, Lucinda and Rosetta.

Lucinda having understood the order of his Excellency, fears that he may make her marry the Captain. Stoppino assures her that he will make the Captain stop at home and that in case of emergency they will give him Rosetta in exchange. The women are satisfied. Stoppino makes Lucinda give him a sign so that she may recognise him, in this

SCENE 6.

Ulivetta, Ardelia and the aforesaid, and afterwards Cola.

Ulivetta has spied, and calls her mistress who comes and hears that Lucinda is to go with Aurelio. They act a *Lazzo*. Lucinda and Rosetta go into the house; Aurelio and Stoppino want to talk to Ardelia and Ulivetta who pretend to come out of the house just then. Aurelio wants to disclose all to them. In this Cola suddenly asks Aurelio on behalf of the Prince if he has carried out his mission. He says yes. Cola in passing says to the women "you are ruined" and goes off. In this

SCENE 7.

Pandolfo and aforesaid.

Pandolfo is heard from within; issues from the Court. Aurelio and Stoppino go off. Pandolfo makes *lazzi* with his daughter because she is in the street at that hour. She, *lazzi*, and goes in with Ulivetta; Pandolfo goes into the Court.

SCENE 8.

The Captain receives Lucinda's countersign from Stoppino with orders to await her at home for she will go that night to visit him conducted

by Stoppino. Referring to its being night they go off.

SCENE 9.

Ardelia, Aurelio, Lucinda and Prince.

Ardelia, disguised as she likes, awaits impatiently the mandate of Aurelio; in this he comes in conformity with the Prince's order. It being dark he makes a sign; in this Lucinda is taken by Aurelio and conducted to the Palace. Ardelia sees this from the side and goes mad with jealousy. In this comes the Prince and embraces her. In this comes Aurelio, observes that the Prince and Ardelia are going with their arms round each other into the Court; goes mad with jealousy and goes out.

SCENE 10.

Stoppino, Rosetta, Ulivetta and Cola.

Stoppino comes to conduct Rosetta to the Court. Makes a sign. She comes and they set off. Ulivetta sees this and goes mad for love. In this Cola embraces her; in this Stoppino returns, sees them going away with their arms round each other; goes mad for jealousy.

END OF ACT II.

ACT III SCENE 1.

Giangurgolo and Cola.

They make peace and Giangurgolo cedes to the Captain all claim to Lucinda. In this Cola gives news of all the events of the night. Calls for help. The Captain goes with him; in this

SCENE 2.

Ubaldo, Giangurgolo, Cola, Ulivetta, Aurelio, Stoppino, Lucinda and Rosetta.

Ubaldo is followed by Ardelia who makes a mad scene with Giangurgolo and she goes off. In this Cola, who cannot find Ulivetta. In this Aurelio makes a scene and goes off. Ubaldo and Cola remain. In this comes Stoppino; his absurdities, blunders and exit; they follow him. In this Lucinda enters from the Court, complaining about the Prince and the deception practised on her by Auriello. Rosetta and Ubaldo learn from Giangurgolo the madness of his daughter. In this

SCENE 3.

Ubaldo confirms to Pandolfo the madness of his daughter. Pandolfo

goes off to find her. Giangurgolo follows him. Lucinda expatiates to Ubaldo on the wrongs done her by the Prince. He then shows the letters he has received from Flanders from the person who left her in his care which show that she is the Princess of Netturno. They go into the court to tell the Prince.

SCENE 4.

Ardelia, Aurelio, Ulivetta, Stoppino and Magician.

They come in acting madly, playing, dancing, singing and saying *geogeo*. Then they sit down and fall asleep. In this enters the Magician, touches them with his wand; all get up, make their acknowledgements, and in this

Last Scene. All on the stage.

With every ceremony it is revealed that Lucinda must be the legitimate wife of the Prince, Ardelia of Aurelio, and they repeat the words of the Oracle:

Uomo non fu già mai che lo conforti
sin che la morte viva non ritorni:
Auditaci (sic) suoi ricchi soggiorni.
E chi morte non ebbe abbia consorte (1).

PROPERTIES REQUIRED

Letters, Magician's robe, guitar.

AN IMPROVISATION by Count Carlo Gozzi. (2)

I had to play the part of Luce, married to Pantalone, a vicious old man broken in health and fortune. I was reduced to extreme poverty, with a daughter in the cradle, the fruit of my unhappy marriage.

There was a night-scene, in which I had to soliloquise, while rocking my child and singing it to sleep with some old ditty. This lullaby I interrupted from time to time with the narrative of my misfortunes and with sallies which made the audience die of laughter. Bursts of applause brought the house down as I told my story, enlarged upon my reasons

(1) " Never was there a man able to console him until the dead should return alive. Let his rich mansions " bear us, and (she) whom death did not have may have a husband.

(2) From the translation of Gozzi's Memoirs by J. A. Symonds.

posed of one long and one short syllable, with this difference, that the "iambus" begins with a short and the "trochee" with a long one. The one suits the gravity of a rustic dance, the other the warmth of an animated discussion. As at every step, the "iambus" seems to redouble its ar our, and the "trochee" to lose it, it is with the first that satyric writers pursue their enemies, and with the second that dramatists sometimes excite and stir up choirs of aged men on the stage.

There is no motion, whether in nature or in our passion, that does not find, in the diverse kinds of rhythm, movements that correspond with them, and become their image, or counterpart. These relations are so fixed that a song loses all its charm if the time is confused, and if our minds do not receive, in accordance with well understood conditions, a periodical succession or sequence, or sensations that they expect. Thus the directors of our plays and of our festivals are never weary in training different actors and others, to whose skill and care they entrust their glory.

THE THREE PRINCES OF SALERNO. A Scenario (1) of the Commedia dell'Arte.

CHARACTERS.

Oronte.
Fabio Brothers.
Leonello.
Briseida, Oronte's wife.
Rosetta servant.
Pandolfo.
Ubaldo. Counsellors.
Dottore.
Captain and soldiers.
Cola, servant to Lionello.
Stoppino.
Ghost of Briseida.
Ghost of Leonello.
Ghost of Rosetta.

The scene takes place in Salerno.

ACT 1. SCENE 1.

Oronte and Counsellors.

Oronte discourses about the revolted city of..... Says that the army is ready; asks counsel as to whether he should go himself or send one of his brothers. The counsellors exhort him to go himself. He consents. and in this

SCENE 2.

Fabio and the aforesaid.

He (Fabio) tells Oronte that he has thought to march against the rebels. Oronte wishes to go himself and that Fabio remain to govern. Gives him orders as to the administration, and all go out.

SCENE 3.

Rosetta and Cola.

Act a love scene. Speak of going to the war. Cola does not want to go. Afterwards they plight their faith as *sposi*.

(1) For some directions as to the method of staging a Scenario see "The Mask" October 1911, page 113.

SCENE 4.

Fabio and Ubaldo. A Room.

Fabio confesses himself the lover of Briseida. Ubaldo dissuades him. He desires her and orders Ubaldo to go and speak to her and within two hours to conduct her to his rooms; and says that if he does not do so he will be punished with death. Ubaldo goes out troubled.

SCENE 5.

Leonello and Cola.

They act a scene about the war and that Cola is to hold himself in readiness to go with his master under pain of death because Leonello wants to follow Oronte. He goes off and Cola remains.

SCENE 6.

Ubaldo and Cola.

Ubaldo acts a scene about the two hours; declaims against the Prince. In this Cola acts a scene at cross purposes. Ubaldo about having to persuade Briseida, Cola about the war. In the end they understand each other. Ubaldo begs Cola that he say nothing to anyone. He promises not to speak. Goes away to tell his master. Ubaldo remains. and in this

SCENE 7.

Ubaldo and Fabio.

Fabio asks Ubaldo if he has spoken to Briseida. Says that letters have come to Fabio from her husband; that she must therefore go to fetch them. Calls, and in this

SCENE 8.

Rosetta, Briseida, and Ubaldo and aforesaid.

Rosetta acts a scene with Ubaldo; afterwards calls Briseida. Ubaldo says that letters have arrived from her husband; therefore she must go to Fabio. She goes out gaily and all go off.

SCENE 9.

Leonello and Cola.

Leonello asks if he has prepared himself to go to the war. Cola tells about Fabio and Briseida. Leonello goes out indignant.

SCENE 10.

Fabio and then Leonello and Cola and Briseida. Room and Bed.

Fabio reveals his love to Briseida. She is unwilling. He acts with violence. In this Leonello prevents him. Fabio goes out angry saying that he who treats him so may take the consequences. Briseida goes off; thanks Leonello, who has no fear.

END OF ACT I.

ACT 2. SCENE 1.

Fabio, Pandolfo, Ubaldo, and Cola at the side.

Fabio declares that whoever shall kill Leonello shall have a hundred thousand scudos as reward and that this be proclaimed. They protest against the cruelty of Fabio and all go out.

SCENE 2.

Leonello, Rosetta, Cola and Briseida.

Leonello speaks about his brother's cruelty. Cola says that there is the reward of a hundred thousand scudos. He laments. Knocks at Briseida's house. Rosetta comes. *Lazzi* with Cola. Calls Briseida. Leonello says that for her safety and her honour it is necessary that she go to her husband's camp. She must therefore dress herself as a man and go out through the garden door so as not to be seen. They agree. Rosetta does the same with Cola. and all go out.

SCENE 3.

Stoppino, Fabio, Captain and two others.

Fabio proclaims the price set on Leonello's life and orders these two unknown men to kill Briseida, Rosetta, Leonello and Cola and not to doubt that he will protect them; goes out. they remain to take their places in the garden and all about.

SCENE 4.

Briseida, Rosetta and aforesaid.

They (the men) see these two coming; believe them to be Leonello and Cola. Slay them. Afterwards see them to be Briseida and Rosetta. Go off to meet Fabio.

SCENE 5.

Pandolfo and Leonello.

Leonello says that he does not know how to escape from his brother's wrath. Wants to take refuge in Pandolfo's house. he (Pandolfo) says that to do so would ruin him. He enters by force. Pandolfo remains.

SCENE 6.

Cola, Fabio, Captain and others and Pandolfo.

Cola relates how he has been pursued so as to be killed. Seeks his master. In this he sees Fabio and runs away. Fabio says that he has searched for his brother; has suspected that he may be in Pandolfo's house. Questions him (Pandolfo). He denies. Fabio wants to clear the matter up. Sends the Captain into the house. he goes in and then comes out frightened because Leonello has beaten him. Fabio goes in because he wants to kill him (Leonello) with his own hands. They presently come out quarrelling. Leonello falls. They go away. Leonello lying on the ground enlarges on his brother's cruelty. In this

SCENE 7.

Cola and the aforesaid.

Sees his master who is dying. his *lazzi*. He (Leonello) asks for writing materials. Cola brings everything. He writes to Oronte with his blood; gives the letter to Cola to deliver and dies. Cola goes off, and in this

SCENE 8.

Fabio, Captain, and soldiers and afterwards Cola.

Fabio desires the death of Cola so that he may not bear the news to Oronte. In this they see him (Cola). Want to kill him. He defends himself with a whip and other means.

END OF ACT 2.

ACT 3. SCENE 1.

Fabio and three Counsellors.

Fabio has news that his brother Oronte is returning victorious from the rebellious city and is already at hand. Therefore it is time they assist him. He orders that at a distance of two miles they prepare sumptuous refreshments and wants them to mix a strong poison with all the food so that his brother and the others may die and says that he, remaining heir to the State, will reward them. Goes to get the poison. They remain. They want to promise all and to reveal the treachery to Oronte.

SCENE 2.

Oronte and Court. Afterwards the ghost of Briseida. A wood.

It seems to him (Oronte) a thousand years until he can see his wife

and brothers. He feels tired; sits down; falls asleep. The ghost of Briseida comes: says "Vengeance, vengeance, beloved husband, if you desire my rest". In this

SCENE 3.

Ghost of Leonello, ghost of Rosetta, aforesaid.

Leonello's ghost says, "Vengeance, vengeance, beloved brother, if you desire that Leonello may rest". In this comes the ghost of Rosetta; says "vengeance, so that Rosetta may rest". In this Oronte awakens trembling. Sees no one. Asks the Captain if he has seen anyone. He says no. In this

SCENE 4.

Cola dressed in mourning. (ridiculous). and the aforesaid.

Cola gives news of all that has happened: delivers the letter. Oronte reads it: expatiates. They go to the city.

SCENE 5.

Fabio and Pandolfo.

Acts a scene; believes that Oronte is dead. In this Pandolfo gives news of Oronte's arrival. Fabio laments, but is not afraid because he intends to deny all; and go out.

SCENE 6.

Pandolfo, Ubaldo, Oronte and Fabio.

Oronte questions the counsellors who recount all. He mourns. In this comes Fabio; wants to salute his brother who gives him a blow: reproaches him; sentences him to be executed with his accomplices. Fabio is led away. Oronte withdraws and all go off.

FINAL SCENE

Cola acts as he likes. (a suo modo). goes off. Fabio expatiates: puts his neck under the axe. His head is shown to the people and the play ends.

Properties required.

Cloaks for the ghosts.
Axe and prison.
Black hangings.
Letter written in blood.
Mourning for Cola.

THE ROGUISH TRICKS OF COVIELLO.

A Scenario (1) *of the Commedia dell'Arte.*

CHARACTERS.

Giangurgolo, father of Pimpinella — Coviello, servant

Capitano

Policinella as himself

CITY... NAPLES.

PROPERTIES.

A Giangurgolo costume for Coviello, Other different costumes for Coviello, Female costume for Policinella, Captain's costume for Policinella, Another different dress for Policinella, Beards.

ACT I. SCENE I.

Giangurgolo and Coviello.

He tells Coviello that he has arranged a marriage for his daughter with the Captain, who is away, and knocking is heard.

SCENE 2.

Pimpinella and the aforesaid.

Pimpinella, having understood this, acts a scene of foolishness, until the other two, tired out, make her go in, saying they will talk to each other some other time; and go off.

SCENE 3.

Policinella, alone.

His love for Pimpinella, and knocks.

SCENE 4.

Pimpinella and the aforesaid.

Amorous scene. In this

(1) Translated and published by the courtesy of Dr : Cesare Levi

SCENE 5.

Coviello and the aforesaid.

Coviello's *lazzi* (1) over the foolishness of the girl; she excuses herself as having acted so for love of Policinella and because she does not want the Captain; and both entreat Coviello to help them. Coviello promises, and Pimpinella goes in. Coviello tells Policinella that the Captain has arrived, and therefore plans with him to dress himself as a Woman. Policinella, having acted *lazzi*, is pleased and goes away to dress himself, Coviello wants to pretend to be Giangurgolo, and goes in to dress himself.

SCENE 6.

The Captain alone.

Says he is come for the marriage arranged by letter with the daughter of Giangurgolo: and that he does not know personally either the one or the other: in this

SCENE 7.

Coviello and the aforesaid.

Coviello as Giangurgolo, after acting a scene makes himself known to the Captain as Giangurgolo, and after they have acted *lazzi* of relationship Coviello calls.

SCENE 8.

Policinella and the aforesaid.

Policinella as a woman, acts his *lazzi;* the Captain says he does not want her, and after a scene which develops as it befalls (2), and *lazzi*, they beat each other, and end the first act.

ACT 2. SCENE 1.

Policinella and Coviello.

Disguised, they say they are notaries pretending to take an inventory of Giangurgolo's goods for the Captain's debts, and go in.

SCENE 2.

Giangurgolo and the aforesaid.

Giangurgolo, wishing to enter his house, sees the door closed, wonders and knocks: the two from within, and from time to time from the window, act the scene of the inventory, (with the usual *lazzi*),

(1) For a definition of "Lazzi" see The Mask Vol IV: pag. 115.

(2) The meaning is, "as the inspiration and action of the moment leads."

for the Captain's debt. Giangurgolo gets in a rage, saying that he will break off the marriage and goes away to go to the court of justice: the others come out, and Coviello arranges with Policinella to pretend to be the Captain, and off.

SCENE 3.

Captain alone.

Having learned that what happened was a trick of imposters, and having been shown the house of Giangurgolo, knocks.

SCENE 4.

Pimpinella and aforesaid.

Scene of entreaty, and drives him away, and off.

SCENE 5.

Giangurgolo alone.

He wants to go in search of the Captain, knowing he is come, and that those of the inventory were imposters: in this

SCENE 6.

Coviello and aforesaid.

Coviello tells him he has found the Captain and that he is now coming: in this

SCENE 7.

Policinella and aforesaid.

Policinella as the Captain acts his *lazzi*, they perform ceremonies with Giangurgolo, and go in, and end the second Act.

ACT. 3. SCENE 1.

Captain alone.

About finding Giangurgolo; in this

SCENE 2.

Coviello and aforesaid.

Coviello, disguised, enters into conversation with the Captain, and narrates that Pimpinella has many imperfections and defects: the Captain does not want to conclude the marriage, and goes off, Coviello remains; in this

SCENE 3.

Giangurgolo and Coviello.

Giangurgolo, not having seen the Captain, (because on entering his

house he no longer found him there), Coviello, in disguise, enters into conversation with him, narrating many evil qualities and defects of the Captain: Giangurgolo does not want to conclude the marriage and goes off; Coviello remains and calls.

SCENE 4.

Pimpinella and Coviello.

Coviello relates to her all that has happened, and whispers in her ear and goes off.

SCENE 5.

Captain and Giangurgolo.

They come on from opposite sides, recognise each other, abuse each other; afterwards they clear things up and call.

FINAL SCENE.

All.

Pimpinella comes on half lame, but is pretending to be so. The Captain seeing her in that state says he does not want her; Giangurgolo asks what has happened, she gives some excuse; Policinella says he wants to have her just as she is and Giangurgolo is content and has them married, then Pimpinella and Coviello ask pardon, reveal the Tricks, and end the Play,

THE THEATRE IN ITALY. NAPLES & POMPEI. A Letter to John Semar from Gordon Craig.

My dear Semar.

I was wont to write you letters from cold places north of Florence,.... There was little or nothing to write of. But now I have come south to see what a warmer theatre can yield.

I write from Pompei after a visit to those two men of genius, the brothers Vettii.

How I came to meet them is simply told.

I was last night at Scarpetta's theatre; that *simpatico* theatre in Naples where all that is to be laughed at is spread before us on the stage and laughed in and out of existence without a thought too much to oppress us. All the difference between this breed who give birth to laughter and the breed on the London stages whose cacklings even miscarry.

Scarpetta exists and we know he is of flesh and blood. Shaw to me does not live, and is something other than flesh and blood.

I feel that had Dante condescended to write for the stage he would have produced just such a series of pleasant and unpleasant and popular comedies as G. B. S.

Another thing I feel about Scarpetta is that he wouldn't care a hang what his women said or thought about his plays, and I guess, (perhaps wrongly), that the great brain laughter of Shaw is only quite ironic enough, only sufficiently deadly when it has received the full approval of the Shaw ladies.

By the way, I ought to tell you who Scarpetta is.

He is the author-actor of Naples, ...that is to say, one of our few real dramatists. His Drama came into being by the grace of Improvisation, and as we know by now, this is the only way real drama can be born. All other dramas are made, ...patchworks,... not good woven stuffs.

His Improvisations are not just witty conversations in which a few people polish off in a few well-chosen words certain groups, cliques or national peculiarities. His Improvisations have to deal with the Life of everyone. In the sharpest cut given the lash winds itself lazily round the waist of the whole earth. But if in Scarpetta's theatre, drama and actors are the real thing they are the lowest real thing,

THE BETRAYED. A Scenario of the Commedia dell' Arte.

CHARACTERS.

Tartaglia, father of
Isabella
Coviello, servant
Cintio, gentleman to Tartaglia
Policinella, father of Angela, who is not seen
Pimpinella, servant
Captain.

CITY... NAPLES.

PROPERTIES.

Gaolor's costume. A Beard. Sticks. Purse. Sword.

ACT I.

Tartaglia and Policinella.

Discuss the pact to be made, Tartaglia giving his daughter to Policinella, and Policinella giving his daughter to Tartaglia; after *lazzi* Policinella goes off, Tartaglia knocks at his own house.

Coviello and Tartaglia.

Coviello, complaining of Cintio, asks Tartaglia to send him away from the house; Tartaglia says that he will remedy everything and then orders Coviello to go and fetch the money at the bank, because he has arranged a marriage, and then to call the Barber, the shoemaker, the tailor; Coviello counts them over on his fingers with the usual *lazzo* and Coviello goes off. Tartaglia knocks at the house.

Cintio and Tartaglia.

Tartaglia tells him that he has arranged the marriage with the daughter of Policinella. Cintio rejoices over it; in this.

Coviello and the aforesaid.

Wrangling from within; act the scene of the Parrot, Tartaglia in despair, Coviello wrangles with Cintio, who tells Tartaglia the bad turns Coviello has done the household; Coviello puts forward his excuses; Tartaglia tells Cintio that he should teach Coviello some good manners, and goes away. Cintio teaches good manners to Coviello, aod goes away. Coviello remains; in this.

Tartaglia and Coviello.

Coviello does the same to Tartaglia as Cintio has done to him, and goes off. Tartaglia, in despair, knocks at the house.

Tartaglia and Cintio.

He tells Cintio how he has arranged a marriage for his daughter, Cintio on his side laments, and faints. Tartaglia's cries. Afterwards Cintio comes to himself, and Tartaglia tells him that he must carry the news to his daughter, and Tartaglia goes off. Cintio, his desperation, and knocks (at Isabella's)

Isabella and Cintio.

He tells her all, Isabella pretends to rejoice, Cintio grows agitated; then Isabella assures him of her love, and with expressions of reciprocal affection they go off.

Policinella, (alone)

Wants to give his daughter the news that he has arranged a marriage for her, and knocks.

Pimpinella and aforesaid.

After *lazzi* they go in.

Captain alone.

Dreams of the love of Angela, and knocks.

Pimpinella and the aforesaid.

They act *lazzi*; then the Captain says he wanted to speak with Angela, Pimpinella says that Angela is ill, and they act the scene of the purse; in this

Coviello and the aforesaid.

He acts the spy and takes the purse without their knowing, and withdraws; these two having acted their scene Pimpinella screams to the Captain who is going in; the Captain is desperate; then sees Coviello, seizes him and tells him of the purse. Coviello tells him that he will get it back for him because he knows that Cintio has taken it; Captain goes off; Coviello knocks for

Pimpinella and Coviello.

They act the scene of the sword, and end the first act.

ACT II.

Pimpinella and Coviello.

They act the scene of the Judge, and after *lazzi* Pimpinella goes off, Coviello remains; in this

Coviello and Policinella.

He tells Policinella that Cintio has said that he has false teeth, (1) Policinella says that he wants to kill him, and Policinella goes off; Coviello remains; in this

Coviello and Captain.

The Captain returns to his demand for the purse, and Coviello returns to his assertion that Cintio has taken it; the Captain asks him his name; he replies: I am called *scopa*, (2) The Captain asks about the household,

(1) Literally " teeth of wax ".

(2) 'scopa' is a birch-tree or broom, but also a cudgelling or a whipping.

and of Cintio's position; Coviello gives him an account of it, the Captain knocks.

Tartaglia and the aforesaid.

Tartaglia having understood the whole position, the scene of the testimony is acted, Coviello goes away, and returns several times with a beard; then Tartaglia calls Cintio.

Cintio and aforesaid.

They treat Cintio as a rogue; Cintio declares his innocence; Coviello secretly puts the purse on Cintio; Tartaglia searches Coviello; and then searches Cintio and finds the purse, and gives it to the Captain, and all scold Cintio, and Tartaglia uses the house as a prison for Cintio; the Captain goes off, and then Tartaglia; Cintio and Coviello remain, in this:

Pimpinella, Cintio and Coviello.

Pimpinella treats Cintio as a rogue, and scolds him; in this.

Policinella and the aforesaid.

They act the scene of the beating with sticks, and end the second act.

ACT III.

Policinella and Coviello.

Coviello plots with Policinella, and dresses him as a gaolor, and they knock (at Cintio's.)

Cintio and the aforesaid.

Policinella tells Cintio that he is the gaolor of the prisons where Tartaglia is imprisoned for making an uproar, and that having lost the key of the counting house he sends to say that it is to be broken open and the money brought to him. Cintio goes in to do this, Policinella after *lazzi* with Coviello goes away; Coviello remains; in this

Coviello and Tartaglia.

He tells Tartaglia how Cintio is breaking open the counting house because he wants to escape (and meantime the noise of the breaking open is heard from within); Tartaglia's *lazzi*; in this

Cintio and the aforesaid.

Tartaglia seizes him, and they find the money on him; Cintio wants to speak, Coviello stops his mouth. Tartaglia tells Coviello to take it (the money) from him; Coviello takes it from him, and Tartaglia goes off, and Coviello; Cintio acts a scene of despair. In this

Isabella and Cintio.

Scene of Love, and Cintio relates to her what has happened; in this.

Coviello and the aforesaid.

They act the scene of the Pilgrim, then Coviello makes them marry and all go into the house.

Captain and Policinella.

He seeks Angela to wife; Policinella says he has married her to Tartaglia; the Captain says he has enjoyed her; Policinella infuriated knocks.

Pimpinella and the aforesaid.

Pimpinella, having been with the Captain, accepts everything, (1) Policinella goes away to find Tartaglia; in this

Coviello, Captain and Pimpinella.

Coviello having understood everything from them makes the Captain and Pimpinella go into Tartaglia's house, telling them that he will settle everything, and he also goes in.

Tartaglia, Policinella, and then All.

Discussing what has happened with the Captain; then Tartaglia knocks at his house, the others with the *lazzo* of *la la sa* perform the marriages, that is; Cintio with Isabella, the Captain with Angela, and Coviello with Pimpinella, and end.

(1) "ha tutto" evidently means "accepts the blame for everything".

Reviews of Commedia Books Contemporary to *The Mask*

A list of Commedia books reviewed in *The Mask* follows with some samples of Craig's reviewing style.

1. Chatfield Taylor, *Goldoni*, Chatto & Windus, 1914.

> The *Goldoni* is rather a heavy book .... How delightfully light the Oxford Dictionary is, and how readable. What a rich work of research; and one would have thought that the dull history of words was dead long ago. How it lives again in the Oxford Dictionary, thin paper edition!
> Of course Mr. Chatfield Taylor's *Goldoni* is awfully good, don't you know; but what good is anything if it is not alive-o?

The Mask, Vol. 8, No. 4, p. 16, 1915.

2. Corrado Ricci, *Anime Dannate*, Milan, 1918.

> In this volume of historical studies Signor Ricci returns to Bologna that theatre of so many highly-colooured and dramatic events, for his characters; and gives us chapters of various types of adventures or criminals of past centuries for whose movements the city served as stage.
> Signor Ricci has done much for Bologna in his gareful studies alike of its personalities, its theatres and its *burattinni*, and to all who understand Italian we recommend his book.

The Mask, Vol. 8, No. 10, pp. 43-44, 1918.

3. K. MacGowan and H. Rosse, *Masks and Demons* , London , 1924.

> We already referred to this book in July 1924 when it reached us from its American publishers. Messrs Harcourt, Brace & Co; we are glad now to see that a English edition has appeared, and would recommend all theatre students to secure a copy for the sake of the large number of excellent illustrations it contains of masks of many nations, and the entertaining text.

The Mask, Vol. 11, No. 1, p. 47, 1925.

4. Carlo Goldoni, *The Memoirs of Carlo Goldoni*, trans. John Black, London, 1927.

> Mr. William A. Drake has written an introduction to this volume and said all that I would like to have said here about Goldoni. Mr. Drake has stolen a march on me; - and besides until I read his introduction, I hadn't thought of the things he thinks of and puts down.
> The translation by Mr. Black is dated 1814 and it might be a god deal

better. But it is good enough for the secondary purpose of the book, which is to show us something of what happened in the theatrs of Italy between 1732 and 1762.

The Mask, Vol. 12bis, No. 2, pp. 82-3, 1927.

5. Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of late Eighteenth Century Drama 1700 to 1750, 1750-1800, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1927.*

When a new book of Professor Nicoll's is announced you can always count on its being indispensable to you.

By the way, I would be inclined to question Professor Nicoll's statement that 'the fashion for private theatres almost certainly came from France' and to say that, if it came via France, the fashion was stared in Italy.

The Mask, Vol. 12bis, No, 2, p. 83, 1927.

6. Cyril Beaumont, *The History of Harlequin*, London, 1927.

Mr. Sacheverell Sitwell in his preface to *The History of Harlequin* a handsome volume written and published by mr. Cyril Beaumont, makes a curious statement about Callot, and the role of Harlequin, saying 'If we look at the works of Jaques Callot.. we find no sign of Harlequin. He came into full being a little later than Callot's day'. In my copy of the 1919 reprint of Callot's *Balli di Sfessania* designed and engraved in 1622 and dealing with the masks of the Commedia dell'Arte, I find Harlequin in the background of four of the twenty-four plates - and possibly in six.

The Mask, Vol. 12bis, No. 3, p. 98, 1927.

7. Ugo Morini, *La R. Accademia degli Immobili ed il suo Teatro "La Pergola" (1649-1925).*

There is no index in this, the first attempt to prepare a definitive *Cronistoria* of the celebrated Teatro della Pergola of Firenze. It is printed on a very inferior class of paper; it is, for such a theatre, insufficiently illustrated; there are some serious omissions, and the book was printed in Pisa instead of Firenze, ... perhaps because the author lives in Pisa which is, after all, sufficient reason.

The Mask, Vol. 12bis, No. 3, p. 128, 1927.

8. Aubert Charles, *The Art of Pantomime*, Henry Holt & co., 1926

A very clever actor might find such a book useful; for clever artists often like best those stupid books which teach us nothing;

it is from that nothing they can so often extract more than anyone else ever dreamed was therein.
To the beginner this book might be fatal, and so our advice is, if they buy it, to beware of it.

The Mask, Vol. 12bis., No. 3, p. 166, 1927.

9. Georges Mongredien, *Les Grands Comediens du XVII Siecle*, Paris, 1927.

M. Moongredien has done his work so well that we feel almost stunned after we have lived with his French Comediens of the XVII siecle to the end of his book, 'What a fun, what dust!' we are on the verge of saying, when we stop in time, remembering that to bring about a rennaisance in our own drama we must first realise how dusty is one playhouse, how spiritual and clean another; and so dull we are - you will surely admit it? - it takes us several centuries of experience to recognize dust from spirit.

The Mask, Vol. 12bis., No. 3, p. 170, 1927.

10. M. S. Steele, *Plays and Masques at Court during the Reigns of Elizabeth James and Charles*, rev. in Vol. 14, No. 1, p. 37-8.

11. Enid Welsford, *The Court Masque*, rev. in Vol. 14, No. 1, p. 40.

12. Pierre Louis Duchartre, *The Commedia dell'Arte*, rev. in Vol. 15, No. 4, p. 176.

13. M. Constantin Miclachevsy, *La Commedia dell'Arte*, Petrograd, 1914-17, rev. in Vol. 12bis, No. 1, p. 50 (see Petraccone, Falavolti)

14. Constance Collier, *Harlequinade*, rev. in Vol. 15, No. 4, p. 124.

15. Winifred Smith, *The Commedia dell'Arte*, rev. in Vol. 5, p. 271.

fined sense of the word; nothing equals the delicacy of this monster. The tumultuous crowd trembles, blushes, palpitates; its modesty is surprising; the crowd is a virgin. No prudery however, this brute is not brutal. Not a sympathy escapes it; it has in itself the whole keyboard, from passion to irony, from sarcasm to sobbing. Its compassion is more than compassion; it is real mercy. God is felt in it. All at once the sublime passes, and the sombre electricity of the abyss heaves up suddenly all this pile of hearts and entrails, the transfiguration of enthusiasm operates, and now, is the enemy at the gates, is the country in danger? Throw a cry to that populace, it would enact the sublime drama of Thermopylæ. Who has called forth such a metamorphosis? Poetry.

The multitude, and in this lies their grandeur, are profoundly open to the ideal. When they come in contact with lofty art they are pleased, they shudder. Not a detail escapes them. The crowd is one liquid and living expanse capable of vibration. A mass is a sensitive plant. Contact with the beautiful agitates ecstatically the surface of multitudes, sure sign that the depth is sounded. A rustling of leaves, a mysterious breath passes, the crowd trembles under the sacred insufflation of the abyss.

And there, even where the man of the people is not in a crowd, he is yet a good hearer of great things. His ingenuousness is honest, his curiosity healthy. Ignorance is a longing. His near connexion with nature renders him subject to the holy emotion of the true. He has, towards poetry, secret natural desires which he does not suspect himself. All the teachings are due to the people. The more divine the light, the more is it made for this simple soul. We would have in the villages a pulpit from which Homer should be explained to the peasants.

A WARNING TO AN ACTOR-MANAGER.

Take care *how* you impress this vast monster of whom Hugo speaks. Take care that you do not lower yourself to tickle its fancy instead of arousing its imagination. Take care that you do not laugh in your sleeve at the mob. Take care that you do not flatter it.

For unless you are *sincere*, unless you give it your best, appealing to its best; unless you *believe* that it is a thing capable of all the noblest that is in nature you will surely one day be devoured by the monster in it; it will assuredly tear you into pieces.

A. C.

THE CHARACTERS OF THE COMMEDIA DELL'ARTE; A List Compiled by Gordon Craig.

I give you a list of the characters of the Commedia dell'Arte, and I think I give you a very fairly complete list. I can find no such list either in Bartoli (1) or elsewhere. Probably no one has thought it worth while heaping the names together, but I hold another opinion.

I have arranged the list in alphabetical order. The nine principle masks I have printed in capital letters. Four of these come from the north of Italy, four from the south, and as for the one over, the Captain, half of him comes from Spain by ship and, arriving at Naples, finds his other half already in the town.

I have added in brackets the name of the town or province from which a mask comes when it was found possible to ascertain this. I have also included in the list names invented by the Germans, English or French such as Hanswurst (Germany) who is the Harlequin of France, the "Arlecchino" of Italy.

Most of the names are very amusing to the ear, and some of them have queer meanings, such as, for example, "Capitano Grillo". (2)

The word Grillo means literally Grasshopper; but a Grillo is also a battering ram and a whim,.... two widely different meanings. Then idiomatically we have it in these senses; "pigliare il grillo"; to take pepper in the nose or to get in a rage; "fare saltare il grillo" to another person means to provoke them, or, in the English phrase, to "get their back up".

Again, "Finocchio" means simply Fennel: but the Italians have an idiom, "I want my share up to the finocchio", which means to the last

(1) Adolfo Bartoli. Scenari inediti della commedia dell'arte.

(2) See Callot's engraving in "The Mask January 1911, 108.

farthing. Also, speaking of a fool, they say pityingly, "he is like the finocchio in a sausage", the word here standing for a mere cypher,.... a nonentity of a lost cat.

I have not added here all the variations of each name for there is no limit to them. They are as complicated and varied as the emotions. For instance, plain Carlo can be "Carlino", which is little Carlo; or "Carletto", which is "dear little Carlo", "Carlettino" which might stand for, "oh, my dear little Carlo": "Carluccio", "good old Carlo" and "Carlaccio" that devil Carlo. "Carlone", again, is "big Carlo", and "Carlotto" might be the gorgeous and splendid or powerful Carlo, and with the addition of those thousand different inflexions possible to men who feel and are not frightened of showing their feelings it is manifest that from the mere name of Carlo a whole drama could be imagined and performed.

I think it would be useful if we could have a family tree of these characters and I wish someone would spare the time for the work.

In my spare moments of the last year I filled a little book with a mass of *fact* relating to the Commedia dell'Arte which I hope shortly to publish. I felt that such a book had to be made if one wished to get a clearer idea of this amazing Drama, because the theatrical historians, carried away by their enthusiam for the subject, have been too liberal with their surmises. "Perhaps" and "In my opinion" and "It is likely that" is charming, but not History. A historian should confine himself to *facts*, cutting ruthlessly away anything which is surmise, however fascinating it may appear..... But let us to the list!

THE LIST OF CHARACTERS.

ARLECCHINO. (*Bergamo*; *N.*) Ardella. Argentina. Aurelia, Alison (*France*).

BRIGHELLA. (*Ferrara*; *N.*) Bello-Sguardo. Bagolino. Beltrame. (*Milan*) Burattino. Bagattino. Buffetto. Bacocco. Blazius. Bertolino. Bertoldo.

COVIELLO (*Calabria*; *S.*) Cucuba. Cucurucu. Corinto. Ciurio. Cicho Sgarra. (*Rome*). Carlino. Cataldo. Claudione. Coralina. Carmosina Columbina.

CAPITANO (*Spain and Naples*). Il Capitano Spavento dell'Val'Inferna. Capitano Zerbino. Capitano Bombardon della Papirotondo. Capitano Aspromonte. Capitano Rinoceronte. Capitano Furibimbombo. Capitano Leonontrove. Capitano Arcitronotonantre. Capitano Grillo. Capitano Cardone. Capitano Fracasso. Capitano Fricassa. Capitano Bellerofonte Martellione. Capitano Esgangarato. Capitano Cerimonia. Capitano Coccodrillo. Capitano Bellavita. Capitano Malagamba. Capitano Babeo. Capitano Spezzaferro. Capitano Tempestas. Capitano Spezza Monti. Capitano Rodomonte or Rodomondo. Capitano Basilisco. Capitano Sangue Fuego. Capitano Cuerno de Cornazan. Capitano Matamore (*France*). Kapitan Gryphius (*Germany*). Capitano Horribili-Cribilifax. (*Germany*). Captain Ralph Roister Doister. (*England*). Capitano Giangurgolo. Capitano dei Baroni. Capitano Ariararche. Capitano Melampigo. Capitano Leucopigo. Capitano Terremoti. Capitano Spacca. Capitano Dia Catolicon. Capitano Taglia Cantoni. Capitano Trasteverino. Meo Patacco. Capitano Ciullo. Capitano Miccopassaro. Capitano Parabola. Capitano Gorgoleone. Capitano Martibellonio. Capitano Trasiloco. Capitano Meo Squaquara Capitano Meo Squamara. Capitano Pasquariello Truono.

DOTTORE. (*Bologna.*) Dr Graziano. Dr Baloardo. Dr Balazon. Dr Prudentio. Dr Brantino. Dr Hippograsso. Messer Rovina. Dr Pancazio. (*Naples*), Dr Biscagliese (*Naples*), Dr Cucuzzietto. Dr Cassandro. Dr Casandrino, Dr Diafoirus. Dr Siciliano.

Diamantina. Il Desaredo. (*Parma*),

Francatrippa. Fritellino. Falsirone. Formica. Fabricio. Frontino. Frontin. (*Germany*). Finocchio. Fantino. Fritata. Fortunato. Don Fastidio. Flavio. Fabio. Franceschina. Fedelindo. Farfanicchio. Facanappa (*Verona*). Florindo. Fiorinetta.

Gian Farina, Gian Fritello. Gian Gurgolo (*Calabria*). Gradelo. Gradellino. Guatsetto. Gelsomino (*Rome*). Giacinta. Gianduja. (*Turin*) Guindolo. Gilles (*France*).

Harlequin. (*England*; *France*). Hauswurst (*Germany*).

Isabella. (*Padua*) (1).

Leandro. Lelio. Lavinia. Lucretia. Lucia. Leonora. Lucinda.

(1) The wife of Francesco Andreini. For details of her life see The Mask, January 1911, pages 120 to 122.

THE COMMEDIA DELL'ARTE

Mezzetino. Metzetin. Mascarillo. Mestolino. Menego, Meneghino. (*Milan*). Marinetta. Matacino.

Narcisino. (*Bologna.*) Il Notaja. Naccherino. Nespolino.

Orazio. Ottavio. Ortensia.

PANTALONE. (*Venice N.*) Pantalone de Bisognoso, Pantalone Il Magnifico Babolonio. Ubaldo. Cassandro. Lauterini. Oronte, (*France*). Gironte. (*France*).

PULCINELLA. (*Apulia. S.*) Polichinelle, (*France*). *Pulcinelo.* (*Spain*) Punch (*England*) Sia Pasquino. Pedrolino. Pandolpho. Pernovella. Pasquariello. Pasquella Pallasse. Pagliaccio. Pierrot. (*Paris*). Philippin (*France*). Pickle-Herring (*Holland*). Peppinella. Pespice. Polpettino. Peppe-Nappa.

Razullo. Ruzzante. Rasta di Boio. Ricciulina. Rosaura. Rosetta. Dame Ragonde. Rugantino. (*Rome*). Rubacori.

SCARAMUCCIA. (S.) Sganarello. Stenterello (*Florence*). Scapino. Scapin Sylvia. Saporita. Susanna. Smaraolo-Cornuto. Smeraldina. Spilletta. Stoppino. Salembeni.

TARTAGLIA. (S.) Truffaldino. Taberina. Truono. Temellino. Traccagnino. Trappola. Trivetino. Trastulo. Trivellino. Tabacchino. Turchetta. Tortellino.

Valerio.

Zanobio da Piombino. (*Florence*). Zerbinetta. Zanni. Zaccognino.

A JAPANESE PUPIL: RECOLLECTIONS by Masanobu Otani.

In this essay Mr Otani relates some few facts about his work as literary assistant to Lafcadio Hearn.

The account which he gives is full of distinction. It is also full of love,... only too rare a quality in an assistant, but one in which lies the secret of fine work.

The whole story is remarkable for the modesty with which it is told. How elated, how puffed up would a Westerner have been in like circumstances! how eager to show that, without his assistance, the master would have been nothing! But of such a feeling no trace is to be found in the story of this young Japanese.

It is in the hope that pupils of the West may learn from this pupil of the East the right and beautiful attitude towards their masters,... may learn a like spirit of obedience, thoroughness, reverence, and submission to discipline, such a spirit as can alone produce fine results, that we print Mr Otani's words. J. S.

It was in September, 1896, (Meiji 29th) that we both entered the Imperial University of Tokyo; I as a student and Mr. Lafcadio Hearn as a lecturer on English literature, which study I was going to pursue. I was the first caller in his temporary Tokyo house at Tatsuoka Cho of Hongo district, as he told me when I called on him on the 9th of the same month; and again I called on him on the 13th, and again on the 15th when he made me promise to become his literary assistant. (He who hitherto, since a day of September, 1890, had been my beloved teacher at Matsue, now became my patron.) I did not work much that year, but, if I remember rightly, only one article on "The Student's Life in Tokyo," and some translations from the *shintaishi* (new-styled poems) of Professors Toyama, Uyeda, Inouye and others, were my effort.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY MATERIALS

Edward Gordon Craig, *The Page* (London, 1899).

The Gordon Craig Book of Penny Toys (Hackbridge, 1899).

Woodcuts and Some Words (Hackbridge, 1899).

Henry Irving, Ellen Terry: A Book of Portraits (Chicago, 1899).

Bookplates (London, 1900).

The Art of the Theatre (London, 1905).

Isadora Duncan: Six Movement Designs (London, 1906).

The Mask (Florence, 1908-1929).

Portfolio of Etchings (London, 1908).

Protfolio of Etchings (London, 1910).

On the Art of the Theatre (London, 1911).

Towards A New Theatre (London, 1913).

'A Living Theatre' (Florence, 1913).

The Marionette (Florence, 1918).

The Theatre Advancing (London , 1921).

Puppets and Poets (London, 1921).

Scene (Oxford, 1923).

Woodcuts and Some Words (London, 1924).

Books and Theatres (London, 1925).

Nothing, or the Bookplate (London, 1925).

Hamlet (Cranach Press, 1929).

A Production, 1926 (Oxford, 1930).

Henry Irving (London, 1930).

Ellen Terry and Her Secret Self (London, 1932).

Index to the Story of my Days (London, 1957).

SECONDARY MATERIALS ON EDWARD GORDON CRAIG

Arnott, Brian, *Edward Gordon Craig and Hamlet* (Ottawa, 1975).

Bablet, Denis, *Edward Gordon Craig* (Paris, 1962).

Beacham, Richard C, 'Brothers in Suffering and Joy: the Appia-Craig Correspondence', in *New Theatre Quarterly*, Vol. 4, No. 15, (1988), pp. 268-88.

Craig, Edward, 'Gordon Craig and Herbert von Herkomer', in *Theatre Research, Vol. 10, No. 1 (1969), pp. 7-16.*

Gordon Craig: The Story of His Life (New York, 1968)

Craig, Ellen G., *Edward Gordon Craig: the Last Eight Years 1958-1966 - Letters* (Andoversford, 1983).

Fletcher, Ifan Kyle, and Arnold Rood, *Edward Gordon Craig: A Bibliography* (Society for Theatre Research, 1967).

Guidry, Lorelei, *Introduction and Index to The Mask* , Vol. 16 (New York, 1968).

Ilyin, Eugene, 'How Stanislavsky and Gordon Craig Produced *Hamlet*', in *Plays and Players* (March, 1957), pp. 6-7.

Innes, Christopher, *Edward Gordon Craig* (Cambridge, 1983).

Leeper, Janet, *Edward Gordon Craig: Designs for the Theatre* (Hamondsworth, 1948).

Marker, Frederick, and Lisa Lone, Edward Gordon Craig and The Pretenders (Carbondale, Ill., 1982).

Marotti, Ferrucio, *Edward Gordon Craig* (Bologna, 1961).

Newman, Lindsay, *Gordon Craig Archives: International Survey* (London, 1976).

'Reinhardt and Craig?' in *Max Reinhardt. The Oxford Symposium*, Margaret Jacobs and John Warren, eds., (Suffolk, 1986)

Rood, Arnold, *Gordon Craig on Movement and Dance* (New York, 1977).

'E. Gordon Craig, director, School for the art of the Theatre', in *Theatre Research International*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (1983), pp. 1-17.

and Donald Oeslager, *Edward Gordon Craig: Artist of the Theatre* (New York, 1967).

Rose, Enid, *Gordon Craig and the Theatre* (London, 1931).

Senelick, Laurence, 'The Craig-Stanislavsky *Hamlet* at the Moscow Art Theatre,' in *Theatre Quarterly*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (1976), pp. 56-122.

'Moscow and Monodrama: The Meaning of the Craig-Stanislavsky *Hamlet*', *Theatre Research International*, Vol. 6, 1981.

Gordon Craig's Moscow 'Hamlet': A Reconstruction (Westport. Conn. 1982).

Walton, J. Michael, ed., *Craig on Theatre* (London, 1983).

GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY / SECONDARY MATERIAL

This is a select bibliography, comprised of the sources mentioned in the notes and/or consulted.

Adorno, Theodor, *In Search of Wagner*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (Norfolk, 1984).

Alpers, Boris, *The Theatre of the Social Mask*, trans. Mark Schmidt (New York, 1934).

Anderson, Perry, 'Modernity and Revolution', in *New Left Review*, 144 (March-April, 1984).
'Asiatic Mode of Production' in *Lineages of the Absolutist State* (London, 1974).

Antoine,, Andre, *Memoirs of the Théâtre Libre*, trans. M. Carlson (Miami, 1964).

Appia, Adolphe, *Music and Art of the Theatre*, trans. Robert W. Corrigan and Mary Douglas Dirks (Florida, 1962).
The Work of Living Art, trans. Barnard Hewitt (Florida, 1960).

Artaud, Antonin, *The Theatre and Its Double*, trans. Mary Caroline Richards (New York, 1958).

Arts Council of Great Britain, *Vorticism and its Allies* (Hayward Gallery London, 27 March-2 June).

Beacham, Richard, *Adolphe Appia* (Cambridge, 1987).

Benjamin, Walter, *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York, 1969).
The Origins of German Tragic Drama, trans. John Osborne (London, 1977).
Schriften, 2 Vols. (Frankfurt, 1955).

Bentley, Eric, *The Life of the Drama* (New York, 1964).

Blair, Fredrika, *Isadora: Portrait of the Artist As A Woman* (Wellingborough, Northamptonshire, 1987).

Bliss-Eaton, Katherine, *The Theatre of Meyerhold and Brecht* (London, 1985).

Bowers, Faubion, *Theatre in the East: A Survey of Asian Dance and Drama* (New York, 1960).

Bradby, David, and Williams, David, *Directors' Theatre* (London, 1988).

Brandon, James, ed., *On Thrones of Gold: Three Javanese Shadow Plays* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970)
Theatre in South-East Asia (Cambridge, Mass., 1967).

Braun, Edward, *The Director and the Stage: from Naturalism to Grotowski (London, 1982).*
ed. Meyerhold on Theatre (London, 1969).

Brecht, Bertolt, *Brecht on Theatre: The Development of an Aesthetic*, trans. and ed. John Willet (New York, 1964).

Bridgwater, Patrick, *Nietzsche in Anglosaxony* (Leicester, 1972).

Brook, Peter, *The Empty Space* (London, 1968).

Brown, John Russell, *Effective Theatre* (London, 1969).

Buckle, Richard, *In Search of Diaghilev* (London, 1955).

Cardinal, Roger, *Expressionism* (London, 1984).

Chadwick, Charles, *Symbolism* (London, 1971).

Cohen, Marshall, and Roger Copeland, eds., *What is Dance* (Oxford, 1983).

Cole, Toby and Helen Krich Chinoy, eds., *Directors on Directing* (London, 1970).

Coomaraswamy, Ananda, *The Dance of Siva. Essays on Indian Art and Culture* (1924), rpt. (New York, 1985)

Craig, Cairns, *Yeats, Eliot, Pound and the Politics of Poetry* (London, 1982).

Deleuze, Gilles, *Nietzsche and Philosophy*, trans. Hugh Tomlinson (London, 1983).

Denvir, Bernard, *The Late Victorians: Art, Design and Society 1852-1910* (London, 1986).

De Zoete, Beryl and Walter Spies, *Dance and Drama in Bali* (London, 1938).

Dorfman, Deborah, *Blake in the 19th Century* (London, 1969).

Dorn, Karen, *Players and Painted Stage: the Theatre of W.B. Yeats (Brighton, 1984).*

Dresser, Christopher The Art of Decorative Design (London, 1862).

Duncan, Isadora, *My Life* 1927, rpt. (London, 1968).

Ellmann, Maud, *The Poetics of Impersonality* (Bighton, 1987).

Fenollosa, Ernest and Ezra Pound, *'Noh' or Accomplishment, A Study of the Classical Stage in Japan* (London, 1916).

Fletcher, Ian, ed., *Decadence and the 1890s* (London, 1979).

Franciscono, Marcel, *Walter Gropius and the Creation of the Bauhaus in Weimar: The Ideals and Artistic Theories of its Founding Years* (London, 1971).

Frascina, Francis, and Charles Harrison, eds., *Modern Art and Modernism*
(London, 1988).

Gardiner, Patrick, *Schopenhauer* (Middlesex, 1971).

Gillian, Rose, *The Melanchloy Science: An Introduction to the Thought of T.W. Adorno* (London, 1978).

Goldwater, Robert, *Symbolism* (London, 1979).

Greenberg, Allan.C., *Artists and Revolution: Dada and the Bauhaus 1917-1925* (Ann Arbor, 1979).

Gropius, Walter, ed., *The Theatre of the Bauhaus*, trans. Arthur S. Wesinger (Connecticut, 1960).

Grube, Max, *The Story of the Meininger*, trans. A.M. Koller (Miami, 1963).

Harrison, Charles, *English Art and Modernism 1900-1939* (London, 1981).

Hart-Davis, Rupert, ed., *The Letters of Oscar Wilde* (London, 1962).

Heidegger, M., *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays*, trans. William Louitt (New York, 1977).

Herbert, Barry, and Alisdair Hinshelwood, *The Expressionist Revolution in German Art 1871-1933* (Leicestershire Museums and Art Gallery, Leicestershire Museums, 1978), p. 26.

Hingley, Ronald, ed. and trans., *The Oxford Chekhov* (Oxford, 1964).

Hindus, Milton, ed., *Walt Whitman: The Critical Heritage* (London, 1971).

Holme, Bryan, *The Studio: A Bibliography: The First Fifty Years 1893-1943* (London, 1978).

Hsu, Tao-Ching, *The Chinese Conception of the Theatre* (London, 1985).

Hudson, Lynton, *The English Stage 1850-1950* (London, 1951).

Innes, Christopher, *Holy Theatre: Ritual and the Avant Garde* (London, 1981).

Inoura, Y., and T. Kawataka, *The Traditional Theatre of Japan* (Tokyo, 1981).

Iser, Wolfgang, *Walter Pater. The Aesthetic Moment* (London, 1987).

Jean-Audry, Georges, *Joseph Conrad - Life and Letters* (London, 1927).

Jones, Clifford Reis, *Kathakali: An Introduction to the Dance-Drama of Kerala* (San Fransisco, 1970).

Jones, Owen, *Grammar of Ornament* (London, 1856).

Kandinsky, W., and Marc, F., eds., *The Blaue Reiter Almanac* (1912), ed. Klaus Lankheit, trans. Henning Falkenstein (London, 1974).

Keene, Donald, ed., *Twenty Plays of the No Theatre* (New York, 1970).

Kenner, Hugh, *The Pound Era* (University of California Press, 1971).

Kessler, H., *The Diaries of a Cosmopolitan: Count Harry Kessler, 1918-1937*, ed. and trans. Charles Kessler (London, 1971).

Kiernan, V. G., *The Lords of Human Kind: Black Man, Yellow Man, and White Man in an Age of Empire* (Boston, 1965).

Kirby, E. T., *Total Theatre* (New York, 1969).

Kirby, Michael, *Futurist Performance* (New York, 1971).

Leacroft, Richard and Helen, *Theatre and Playhouse* (London, 1984).

Lewis, Wyndham, *Blast* (London, 1914-15).

Lugné-Poe, A, *Ibsen* (Paris, 1936).

Martin, Marianne, W., *Futurist Art and Theory* (Oxford, 1968).

Meyer, Michael, *Henrik Ibsen* (London, 1971).

Miller, Liam, *The Noble Drama of W.B. Yeats* (Dublin, 1977).

Nicoll, Allardyce, *Masks, Mimes and Miracles* (London, 1931).
The World of Harlequin. A Critical Study of the Commedia dell'Arte (London, 1963).
English Drama 1900-1930 (London, 1973).

Nietzsche, Friedrich, *The Birth of Tragedy: and The Case of Wagner*, trans. Walter Kaufmann (New York, 1967).
The Gay Science, trans. Walter Kaufmann (New York, 1968).
Dithyrambs of Dionysus, trans. R.J. Hollingdale (London, 1984).
The Complete Works of Friedrich Nietzsche, 18 Vols, ed. and trans. Dr. Oscar Levy (Edinburgh, 1909-11)
The Portable Nietzsche, Walter Kaufmann, ed., (New York, 1954).

Nordau, Max, *Degeneration* (London, 1895).

Oreglia, Giacomo, *The Commedia dell'Arte* (London, 1968).

Osborne, John, 'From Political to Cultural Despotism: the Nature of the Saxe-Meiningen Aesthetic', *Theatre Quarterly*, Vol.5, No.17.

Pandolfi, Vito, *La commedia dell'Arte, storia e testo*, 6 Vols. (Florence, 1957-1969).

Pater Walter, *Greek Studies* (London, 1911).
The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry (London, 1910).

Pavis, Patrice, *Languages of The Stage* (New York, 1982).

Philpott, A.R., *Dictionary of Puppetry* (London, 1969).

Pontus, Hulten, *Futurism and Futurisms* (London, 1986).

Praz, Mario, *The Romantic Agony* (Cleveland, 1933).

Pronko, Leonard C., *Theatre East and West* (London, 1967).
'Terakoya: Kabuki and the Diminished Theatre of the West', in *Modern Drama*, Vol.8 (May, 1965).

Rudnitsy, Konstantin, *Russian and Soviet Theatre: Tradition and the Avant-Garde*, trans. Roxane Permar (London, 1988).

Russell, D.A and M. Winterbottom, eds., *Classical Literary Criticism* (Oxford, 1972).

Said, Edward, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978).

Sand, Maurice, *The History of the Harlequinade*, 2 Vols. (Philadelphia, 1915).

Schmutzler, Robert, *Art Nouveau* (London, 1962).

Schopenhauer, *Collected Essays* (London, 1891).

Scott, A.C., *The Theatre in Asia* (London, 1972).
Mei Lan-fang, Leader of the Pear Garden (Hong Kong, 1959).
The Kabuki Theatre of Japan (London, 1955).
The Classical Theatre of China (London, 1957).

Senelick, Laurence, ed. and trans., *Russian Dramatic Theory from Pushkin to the Symbolists, An Anthology* (Austin, Texas, 1981).

Shaw, G.B., *Collected Letters 1989-1910*, ed., Dan.H.Lawrence (London, 1972).

Silk, M.S. and J.P. Stern, *Nietzsche on Tragedy* (Cambridge, 1981).

Silz, Walter, *Heinrich von Kleist: Studies in His Works and Literary Character* (Connecticut, 1961).

Simonson, Lee, *The Stage is Set* (New York, 1932).

Speaight, George, *The History of the English Puppet Theatre* (London, 1955).

St. Clair Byrne, Muriel, 'Charles Kean and the Meininger Myth', *Theatre Research*, Vol. 6, 'What We Said About the Meiningers in 1881', *Essays and Studies*, Vol.18, 1965

Stanislavsky, Constantin, *My Life in Art* (London, 1924).

Starobinski, Jean, *Portrait de L'Artiste en Saltimbanque* (Geneva, 1970).

Steegmuller, Francis, *Your Isadora. The Love Story of Isadora Duncan and Gordon Craig* (New York, 1974).

Steinkraus, Warren E., ed., *Art and Logic in Hegel's Philosophy* (Sussex, 1980)

Stern, J.R., *Nietzsche on Tragedy* (Cambridge, 1981).

Stokes, John, *Resistible Theatres* (London, 1972).

Storey, Robert F., *Pierrot. A Critical History of a Mask* (Princeton, 1978).

Symons, Arthur, *William Blake* (London, 1907).
The Symbolist Movement in Literature (New York, 1958).
Studies in the Seven Arts (London, 1906).

Taylor, John Russell, *The Art Nouveau Book in Britain* (Edinburgh, 1966).

Taylor, Ronald, *Richard Wagner, His Life, Art and Thought* (London, 1983).

Tomlin, E.W.F., *Wyndham Lewis: An Anthology of his Prose* (London, 1969).

Umbro, Apollonio , ed., *Futurist Manifestos* (London, 1973).

Wade, Allan, ed., *The Letters of W.B. Yeats* (New York, 1955)

Watkinson, Ray, *William Morris as Designer* (London, 1967).

Wilde, Oscar, *Art and Decoration* (London, 1920).
Intentions and the Soul of Man under Socialism (London, 1969).

Willet, John, *The New Sobriety 1917-1933. Art and Politics in the Weimar Period* (Hampshire, 1978).

Woodfield, James, *English Theatre in Transition 1881-1914* (New Jersey, 1984).

Worringer, Wilhelm, *Abstraction and Empathy* (1908), trans. Michael Bullock (London, 1953).

Yeats, W.B., *Collected Poems* (London, 1978).
Essays and Introductions (London, 1961).
Collected Plays (London, 1963).